

— *Monografías* —

MEDIEVAL
IBERIA
CHANGING SOCIETIES
AND CULTURES
IN CONTACT
AND TRANSITION

Edited by Ivy A. Corfis
and Ray Harris-Northall



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MEDIEVAL IBERIA

CHANGING SOCIETIES AND CULTURES IN CONTACT AND TRANSITION

Medieval Iberia was rich in sociolinguistic and cultural diversity, and the fourteen articles in the present volume explore the culture, history, literature and language of the Peninsula in an attempt to understand its cultural-political complexity, and its legacy. After a section on the social interaction of individuals in a changing world, modern interpretations of the period are placed alongside contemporary and post-Reconquest views. The third section discusses the spread of learning and the transmission of culture through literature, print, science and universities while an exploration of the fascinating tapestry of linguistic varieties completes this investigation of the multi-faceted cultural experience that was Medieval Iberia.

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TAMESIS

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	ix
IVY A. CORFIS AND RAY HARRIS-NORTHALL	
Part 1: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES IN CHANGING SOCIETIES	
The <i>Converso</i> Condition: New Approaches to an Old Question	3
E. MICHAEL GERLI	
Speaking through Many Voices: Polyphony in the Writings of Teresa de Cartagena	16
JOSEPH T. SNOW	
Chains of Iron, Gold and Devotion: Images of Earthly and Divine Justice in the <i>Memorias</i> of Doña Leonor López de Córdoba	30
FRANK A. DOMÍNGUEZ	
Part 2: CONTACT AND CONFLICT: PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY AND CULTURE	
Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?	47
STANLEY G. PAYNE	
Against the Arabs: Propaganda and Paradox in Medieval Castile	57
NOEL FALLOWS	
Conquest and Conversion in the Hispanic Chivalric Romance: The Case of <i>Reinaldos de Montalván</i>	70
IVY A. CORFIS	

Part 3: TRANSMISSION OF LEARNING AND
TEXTS IN CHANGING CULTURES

- Hermes Trismegistus in *General Estoria II* 87
CHARLES F. FRAKER

- Pharmaceutical Fictions: Celestina's Laboratory and the 99
Sixteenth-Century Medical Imaginary
MICHAEL SOLOMON

- Spanish and Portuguese Scholars at the University of 110
Paris in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries:
The Exchange of Ideas and Texts
WILLIAM J. COURTENAY

- The Primary Audience and Contexts of Reception 120
of Thirteenth-Century Castilian *cuaderna vía* Poetry
PABLO ANCOS

- Editorial Interference in *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián* 136
KRISTIN NEUMAYER

Part 4: LINGUISTIC CONTACT AND CHANGE

- Perils of Speaking of *Orígenes de la lengua* 153
THOMAS D. CRAVENS

- Aspects of Official Language Usage in Castile and León: 165
Latin and the Vernacular in the Early Thirteenth Century
RAY HARRIS-NORTHALL

- Considering Paradigmatic Factors in the Reduction of 175
Old Spanish *sodes* > *sois*
JOEL RINI

- Index 185

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Introduction

IVY A. CORFIS AND RAY HARRIS-NORTHALL

The impetus for this volume of scholarly articles on Medieval Iberia came from the interdisciplinary symposium held at the University of Wisconsin–Madison on 18–19 November 2004, co-sponsored by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Medieval Studies Program. Thirteen Madison colleagues from the departments of History, Art History, Comparative Literature, Hebrew and Semitic Studies, and Spanish and Portuguese, with the participation of two scholars from the University of Minnesota–Twin Cities and Miami University (Ohio), presented papers on a wide range of topics dealing with the culture, history and letters of the medieval Iberian Peninsula. The list of participants included: Stanley G. Payne, María Esperanza Alfonso, William J. Courtenay, Kristin Neumayer, Matthew L. Juge, Ray Harris-Northall, Thomas D. Cravens, Thomas E. A. Dale, Karl Blaine Shoemaker, Barbara Weissberger, María Dolores Bollo-Panadero, Nhora Lucía Serrano, Pablo Ancos, Gabriela Cerghedean and Ivy A. Corfis. Since many of the participants were eager to continue the lines of investigation presented at the symposium, they and scholars from across the U.S. were invited to contribute essays related to the cultural history of the Peninsula from a historical, linguistic or literary perspective. In all, six of the volume contributors are original symposium participants from the University of Wisconsin–Madison, with another seven scholars contributing from other universities. The contributors represent some of the finest established scholars working on the fascinating complexity of Medieval Iberia, in addition to younger scholars just making their mark on the field.

The variety of language, culture and literature in the medieval Peninsula is a rich and expansive topic. The essays in this volume attempt to set forth only a few avenues from which to approach the complex cultural-political diversity of Iberia, through issues of gender, science, medicine, philosophy and linguistic and literary diversity.

Part 1: Social and cultural minorities in changing societies

The first section of the volume focuses on social and cultural minorities in changing societies: *conversos* in a society dominated by (old) Christians; the place of the individual in, as well as against, society; women writers in an intellectual

world dominated by men; and the individual against political domination. These topics are developed by E. Michael Gerli, in his essay on *converso/a* writers; Joseph T. Snow, in his discussion of Teresa de Cartagena; and Frank Domínguez, in his article on Leonor de Córdoba. All three authors grapple with issues at the heart of Medieval Iberia's changing societies and cultures: contact, transition, and change or resistance.

First, E. Michael Gerli (University of Virginia), in 'The *Converso* Condition: New Approaches to an Old Question', shows the importance of post-colonial and cultural studies for Hispano-medieval criticism, especially for the study of the *conversos* and their literature. Through his analysis we come to a better understanding of the *converso* existence in pre-Expulsion Castile. In particular he analyzes fifteenth-century *conversos* through the texts of Antón Montoro, Teresa de Cartagena and Diego de Valera, as examples of how the *converso* contradicts the other to reveal the subtle complexity of his/her existence. The three examples analyzed are striking since they show how the *converso's* social position and context affects the self-portrayal created by the writers themselves. Montoro, for example, defines himself as the very lowly, marginalized character that a *converso* is imagined to be. He does this precisely to gain access to courtly spaces that otherwise he could not approach. Teresa de Cartagena compares herself to male writers and people without physical infirmities, precisely what she is not. Finally Diego de Valera places himself in opposition to the politics of heraldry and privilege, while seeking the very same privilege. Montoro, Cartagena and Valera, then, nuance the view of the *converso* through their verbal self-portraits. Clearly the true significance of the word *converso* shifts in context, according to the social position of the *converso/a* using the term. Gerli's essay brings to fore the necessity of re-evaluating the use of cultural terminology.

Next, Joseph T. Snow (Michigan State University), in 'Speaking through Many Voices: Polyphony in the Writings of Teresa de Cartagena', cogently studies the works of Teresa de Cartagena, one of the *conversa* writers examined by Gerli. However, while Gerli looks at her within the context cultural of minorities in (old) Christian society, Snow takes a different approach to the *conversa's* work. He studies the author not only as woman writer in an intellectual world dominated by men, but as a woman who invokes a wide array of biblical, classical and contemporary authorities to reveal her vast erudition and a unique literary tone and style. Snow shows how the subtle nuances of Teresa's many voices – the learned and popular authorities upon which she draws – enrich her *Arboleda de los enfermos* and *Admiración operum Dey*. Paradoxically, however, as Snow concludes, it is through the many voices that Teresa de Cartagena employs that she makes audible a silent, unique conversation with God. Her deafness, the infirmity which separates her from society, necessitates that her voice be a personal communication with the divine. Yet her writing brings her voice to the society that marginalizes her.

Finally, in this first section of *Medieval Iberia*, Frank Domínguez (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), in 'Chains of Iron, Gold and

Devotion: Images of Earthly and Divine Justice in the *Memorias* of Doña Leonor López de Córdoba', continues the study of changing societies through the analysis of the individual in political society, tracing the imagery of chains in the *Memorias*. Domínguez shows how Leonor López de Córdoba manipulates the imagery (chains of gold, chains of imprisonment, and the chain of prayers of the Rosary), to recount her family's political and physical misfortune. Chains were imposed on the men of her family, who were stripped of their golden chains of honor with disrespect and undeserved dishonor. Such punishment was typically imposed on Moorish captives. It was not deserved by Christian nobles. Through the imagery of chains of honor and dishonor, Doña Leonor exposes the defects of Pedro I, el Cruel, while casting blame on Enrique II for imprisoning her family. She looks to the miracles associated with and symbolized by the Rosary's chain of prayers for justice from a higher realm. Leonor's discourse reveals the changing societies in the reigns of Pedro I and Enrique II, as she links testimonial writing and politics: the individual confronting a changing political world.

Part 2: Contact and conflict: perspectives on history and culture

Many new perspectives on the history of Medieval Iberia have opened up in recent decades, examining modern interpretations of the period as well as contemporary commentaries and post-Reconquest visions of the Middle Ages. Stanley G. Payne (University of Wisconsin–Madison) addresses the issue of how the modern sociopolitical situation in Spain has enabled and stimulated historians to look more questioningly at the early history of Christian Spain after the Islamic conquest, in his study 'Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?' The notion of the kingdom of Asturias holding on to Visigothic institutions and traditions, and thus providing the unbroken link that would enable a great, united, Christian nation to emerge again after the Reconquest, was much favored during the years of the Franco régime. This vision presented a number of problems, not least of which was an acute lack of reliable research into both the Visigothic period before 711 and the Asturian period afterwards. In recent years, archeological and other evidence has shown that Asturias was more integrated into the Visigothic political, religious and social structures than was once thought. Though this goes some way to solving the paradoxes apparent in the Neo-Gothic tradition, the author is careful to separate the strands of the Grand Narrative and cautions against its tendency to mix territorial gain and religious ideology.

During the later Medieval period, military contact between Christian and Islamic forces meant that social attitudes were permeated with views of otherness and manipulations of those views. In 'Against the Arabs: Propaganda and Paradox in Medieval Castile', Noel Fallows (University of Georgia) discusses how political propaganda in Castile cast its targets as adopting Arab customs in

order to revile them, as was the case with Enrique IV. At the same time, Christian churchmen and chroniclers wrote tracts in which they found justification for the war against Islam and described the ideal knight as a military commander capable of firing up his troops to commit deeds of great daring and bravery. As in all propaganda, the vilification of the enemy is accompanied by the idealization of the writer's own side, but those who do not meet the ideal can rapidly be depicted as sharing in the ways typified as pertaining to the other.

Thus, the military force of the enemy is seen as unnecessarily cruel and depraved in contrast to the writer's own, which fights courageously and is inspired by lofty ideals. Fallows points out that the rhetoric eventually backfires, not only because it reveals the writers' own fears, both motivated and unmotivated, but also ultimately exaggerates the threat posed by an enemy whose real capacity is lost and misunderstood in the weft of truth and legend.

Once the Reconquest was over, the conflict between Christian and non-Christian continued to be portrayed in chivalric literature, a genre which enjoyed institutional support and the approval of both Church and State as an instrument to raise the popular conscience in their common effort to expand and evangelize. Ivy A. Corfis (University of Wisconsin–Madison) shows in her study 'Conquest and Conversion in the Hispanic Chivalric Romance: The Case of *Reinaldos de Montalván*' how the interpretation that chivalric romance reflects of Medieval Iberian history frequently includes narratives of the conversion of the infidel; both indigenous works and those translated, such as *Reinaldos de Montalván*, contain not only scenes of baptism and the reasons accounting for them, but also a careful depiction of the knight as a charismatic evangelist, able to convert the infidel by force or by persuasion. Thus the knight assumes an almost saintly role, in contrast to his foes, who are pagan or Muslim or a reviled composite of both, and conquest and conversion come to overlap.

It is not only the male foe who is subject to conversion, however: the author demonstrates that the women in these narratives, whether warriors or lovers, play an important role in the conversion theme, since conversion justifies their rejection of their own families and origins, and even their treachery; those who do not convert can suffer dire consequences. Conversion is seen as the result of some kind of divine intervention which proves the superiority of Christianity, just as the warrior proves his military superiority on the battlefield. Resisting that superiority in either case can be a fatal error, whereas conversion brings its rewards and some of the converts experience true religious fervor.

Though chivalric romance with an emphasis on conversion was particularly to Iberian taste in the sixteenth century, when Christians were constantly suspicious of the religious orthodoxy of *conversos* and concerned about the *morisco* population, we are shown that translations such as *Reinaldos* shared the theme, and as Iberian cultures moved into the sixteenth century, their contact with other European cultures found common ground in the conflict between Christian and non-Christian.

Part 3: Transmission of learning and texts in changing cultures

In the third section of the present volume, five scholars discuss the spread of culture and learning in Iberia: the transmission of culture within and across societies through literature, print, science and universities. Charles F. Fraker, Michael Solomon, William Courtenay, Pablo Ancos and Kristin Neumayer explore the multi-faceted cultural experience that was Medieval Iberia as learning spread across the face of the Peninsula.

Focusing on the transmission of culture from classical to medieval times, Charles F. Fraker (University of Michigan), in the essay 'Hermes Trismegistus in *General Estoria* II', provides a detailed discussion of a late Antique astrological text associated with the cult of Hermes Trismegistus, which flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era. The Second Part of the Alfonsine *General Estoria* has a Hermetic account that is very similar to the classical work. The text bears a message of unimaginable scope, according to Fraker. It is a text on astrology; it is written in a mysterious alphabet of twenty-four characters, which symbolize the eight spheres, the twelve signs of the zodiac and the four elements; the characters signify the entire cosmos. The actual message of the book is no less remarkable, for the text is about the past and the future. What is even more distinctive about the Alfonsine version is that it is also about human history. In particular, it proves that astrology need not be just about what is to come; it may also be about the past. Thus, as Fraker shows, study of the thirteenth-century text and Hermetic tradition demonstrates the spread of lay learning from Latin to vernacular culture in the Iberian Peninsula.

Continuing in the study of the spread of secular culture, this time through science, Michael Solomon (University of Pennsylvania), in his essay 'Pharmaceutical Fictions: Celestina's Laboratory and the Sixteenth-Century Medical Imaginary', analyzes Celestina's laboratory and its relation to medicine, to show how Pármemo's description of Celestina, her profession, fame and laboratory fail to dissuade Calisto from using the bawd's services. In fact, it is precisely Pármemo's description of Celestina and her laboratory that ignites Calisto's imagination and causes him to believe that the old woman will bring about his cure. Rather than discredit Celestina, Pármemo's speech ironically legitimizes her medicinal powers and causes Calisto to believe that his cure will spring not only from Celestina's laboratory but from her person, as healer and apothecary. According to Solomon's analysis, through Pármemo's speech and the tragic results that ensue from the bawd's intervention to cure love's pain, Rojas denounces female medicinal practitioners in general and, more specifically, those who provide pharmaceutical cures. Through Solomon's medical analysis of *Celestina*, we see the spread of medical science to all levels of society and the changing cultural attitudes toward such science.

Moving from medicine to scholasticism, William J. Courtenay (University of Wisconsin–Madison), in 'Spanish and Portuguese Scholars at the University of Paris in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Exchange of Ideas and

Texts', studies the transmission of learned culture from Paris to Iberia. Courtenay argues that while the Iberian Peninsula has been overlooked in the study of medieval European intellectual history, nonetheless Iberian scholars played an important role in the spread of Western scholarship. Through documentary evidence gleaned from student rolls and registers from the fourteenth-century University of Paris, Courtenay outlines the intellectual exchange of students and texts across the Pyrenees. His study shows that, indeed, Iberian students were few in number, but they had several things in common: they lived in the same area of the city and they were of a privileged social class, many under the patronage of Spanish bishops. Moreover, the students in Paris were not only secular, but also, and perhaps more importantly, sent from the mendicant orders, which valued education, to study at the university. In addition to the movement of students between Paris and Iberia, there was also an exchange of texts. Many manuscripts from Oxford and Paris made their way back to Iberia when the students returned home from studying abroad. The Iberian scholars thus preserved scholastic thought and works through the manuscripts that they brought with them as they returned to the Peninsula. For that reason alone, even if they were small in number, these scholars made an enormous impact on Iberian culture as they facilitated the transfer of knowledge from Paris and northern Europe.

In another inquiry on the spread of culture and learning, Pablo Ancos (University of Wisconsin–Madison) studies the transmission of written texts. In 'The Primary Audience and Contexts of Reception of Thirteenth-Century Castilian *Cuaderna vía* Poetry', Ancos discusses the interplay between reading/writing and orality in the thirteenth-century *mester de clerecía* works. His thought-provoking conclusions are based on internal evidence regarding the acts of writing, reading and textual reception. Ancos proposes a new methodology for approaching the texts, without pre-conceived notions about how the texts were produced or received. Through his meticulous presentation of internal evidence, Ancos proposes an audience of male *clerici* who heard the texts through collective, oral reading. The context of reception is reflected in the works' rich and diverse textual voices: those of author, narrator and oral reader. Through these thirteenth-century works we can come to understand the changing oral and written societies and the transmission of university learning through spoken texts.

In addition to the study of textual dissemination in written and oral culture, we find another dramatic change in literary printed transmission. Kristin Neumayer (University of Wisconsin–Madison), in 'Editorial Interference in *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián*', looks at texts as they pass through manuscript and print cultures, with special emphasis on the late medieval and early Renaissance period, to show how editorial intervention in preparing texts for printing may have affected early works such as *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián*. Non-authorial decisions regarding textual divisions, chapters and parts may have determined how we now read the romances and their relationship one to another. Through such studies as those carried out by Neumayer, we can

come to understand how the transition from manuscript to print culture alters the discourse we read today and affects the reception of texts through the ages.

Part 4: Linguistic contact and change

Medieval Iberia was a fascinating tapestry of linguistic varieties, with contact among them performing an enriching function, while at the same time generating tensions in terms of prestige, demographic movement, and competing usage. Only in the last few decades has sociolinguistic theory, applied to historical situations and development, been capable of accounting for many of the uniquely Iberian phenomena we encounter as seen through the prism of modern research into linguistic contact and mixing. Monolingualism, so familiar to many modern speakers of what were originally Western European languages, would be a difficult concept to explain to many inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages: soldiers (and we should remember that, as is reflected in many of the contributions to this volume, society was largely militaristic) fought side by side with speakers not only of other Peninsular varieties, but also in some periods with speakers of extra-Peninsular Romance varieties such as Occitan; the educated elites were familiar with the cultural products of Occitan and Catalan troubadours, and themselves wrote poetry in Galician-Portuguese, even though their native linguistic variety may have been Leonese or Castilian (in a strictly geographical sense); and in a large area of the northern Peninsula, much larger than is the case nowadays, Basque, a non-Romance language, was spoken. Some of the earliest documents in which we find Ibero-Romance consigned to the written medium were produced in Basque-Romance bilingual regions, and alongside the Latin of the original text, we find both vernacular Romance and Basque in marginal and interlinear glosses, surely indicating that both the scribe providing the gloss and many in his speech community had little difficulty in using both languages. This is the case of the famous *Glosas Emilianenses*.

At the same time, though we can be sure that by AD 1000 the oral vernacular was linguistically remote from its Latin ancestor, Latin orthographic practice continued to be the norm, with few attempts to couch the vernacular in a more transparent graphemic guise surviving from earlier than the twelfth century. This situation has often led historical linguists to believe in a kind of diglossia; but Latin was learned by scholars as a written representation of the vernacular or as a second language. Older prejudices, however, continue to contribute to the misunderstanding of what the written record represents, and to a misinterpretation of the status of Latin in Medieval Iberia.

Romance and Arabic met not only in the military milieu, but in all kinds of social interaction: the fact that Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan preserve Arabic loanwords in the lexical areas of architecture, agriculture and horticulture, botany, mathematics, astronomy and medicine, cuisine and recreational activities attests to the degree of contact in the Medieval Peninsula between languages

of the two families. Meanwhile, in the Christian states of the north, the Castilian linguistic variety was following political and military developments and extending not only southward into reconquered territory, but also to the east and west, shrinking the areas in which Leonese and Aragonese varieties had been used. Even so, Castilian was not a homogeneous speech variety; it absorbed lexical items from other Romance varieties, including Mozarabic (or Romandalusi), as well as developing highly peculiar solutions to some linguistic issues, not shared by its nearest Romance neighbors.

In his essay, 'Perils of Speaking of *Orígenes de la lengua*', Thomas D. Cravens (University of Wisconsin–Madison) addresses the issue of how we interpret the contact and interaction between Latin and Romance, especially in teaching students how to understand what such expressions as 'orígenes de la lengua' might actually mean in the Iberian context. The frequent question of when Latin became Romance, or when the Romance languages began to be spoken in the Peninsula cannot be answered linguistically, and a superficial glance at a so-called early text can lead students to the erroneous conclusion that Latin was still in use as late as the thirteenth century in all kinds of documents. While it is undoubtedly the case that the scholarly elite was familiar with Latin, what we see in many cases is a Latin orthographic shell wrapped around a purely Romance interior, much in the same way that Modern English *cupboard* represents an old morphological compound, recognizable from its written representation, but not from its phonetic realization, and therefore necessary to learn as an individual lexical item by native speakers. In the same way, speakers of Ibero-Romance vernaculars were taught to represent their speech in writing by making morphological and lexical correspondences with Latin equivalents, a system that took centuries fully to break down.

Metaphors we use in teaching historical linguistics may mislead students: talking of a living language suggests it is an organism with a birth (and death) whose moment we can point to in history; but it is not possible to date the birth of a Romance variety, just as it is not possible to talk of a contemporaneous death of Latin, which was still in use in the Peninsula as an academic and scientific language until after the Renaissance, and as the language of the Roman Catholic Church until the twentieth century. Thus when we speak of the origins of the Romance languages in the Peninsula, we need to bear in mind that Latin and Romance cannot be separated chronologically in the Middle Ages; there is no dividing line that neatly establishes when the Romance languages came into being, and Latin and Romance continued alongside each other for centuries, in a relationship that shifted and changed with the needs of the society they served.

Ray Harris-Northall (University of Wisconsin–Madison) also studies in his essay 'Aspects of Official Language Usage in Castile and León: Latin and the Vernacular in the Early Thirteenth Century' the relationship between Latin and the Romance vernaculars in Medieval Iberia, though his perspective is on the choice of language variety in official documents. The kingdom of Castile made a precocious move toward officializing the vernacular in comparison with other

states in which Romance languages were spoken, and the author suggests that at least some of the reasons behind this have little to do with a medieval language policy, as is sometimes suggested, and more with the social and historical context in which Castile-León operated in the early and mid thirteenth century. At the beginning of that century, Latin was still the language of prestige in which legal documents were couched, especially those emanating from the royal chancery. Alfonso X (reigned 1252–84) has often been considered responsible for the switch to the vernacular in official documents, an attribution which is understandable given the king's active involvement in the production of a large number of cultural writings in the vernacular. The author, however, demonstrates that the shift to the vernacular took place in a series of steps whose inception considerably predates the reign of Alfonso, and he situates the issue of language choice against the background of the Reconquest. In this way, language contact between Arabic and Romance in the south of the Peninsula as territory continued to change hands had an indirect but crucial effect on the contact between Romance vernacular and Latin in the Christian states of the north. The linguistic practice of the chancery comes to light in its almost comical inability to deal with Arabic borrowings in the vernacular, and in the breakdown of its long-standing obeisance to the prestige of Latin as the high sociolinguistic register.

Joel Rini (University of Virginia) takes a detailed look at the development of verbal morphology in Castilian in his essay 'Considering Paradigmatic Factors in the Reduction of Old Spanish *sodes* > *sois*': one of the characteristic traits of the language in the late Middle Ages is the loss of /d/ in *vos* forms of the verb: *amades* / *amáis*, *comedes* / *coméis*, and so on; the variation of *sodes* / *sois* has typically been included in the same process. But Rini traces the history of the latter form through a large number of texts from the thirteenth century onward, and demonstrates the likelihood that the loss of the consonant in *sois* has a closer relationship with the *yo* form *so* / *soy*, another peculiarity of verbal morphology that marks Castilian off from its neighboring Romance varieties. The author shows that historical developments can be fully understood only by close analysis of texts, and that variation in all the Romance vernaculars was a constant feature then as now; the view of Castilian as a homogeneous language as it began to dominate in the central Peninsula (indeed, some scholars have suggested that the spread of Castilian was favored by its 'stability') is erroneous.

Each of the contributions to this volume advances our knowledge of Medieval Iberia in its own area; yet the scholars represented clearly agree on more general questions that need to be addressed: how did minority groups in the community represent themselves, and how were they represented by others? Social contact was both enriching and challenging for members of all the Iberian communities; and even members of the dominant political community could feel menaced by the society that surrounded them. Did contact mean mutual absorption of influence, or did it mean conflict? In the broadest cultural sense, influence often went unnoticed or unquestioned, as is the case with much of the linguistic interaction in the Peninsula. However, more perceptible influence was resisted, contested or

manipulated. How was cultural and scientific knowledge spread, both within the Peninsula and along the roads that linked Iberia with its neighbors? We see that Medieval scholars and intellectuals were not static, nor unconcerned about the dissemination of their work. Finally, this collection of essays shows that our modern interpretations of Medieval Iberia are neither monolithic nor definitive: it remains a fascinating, kaleidoscopic field of investigation.

Part 1: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES IN
CHANGING SOCIETIES

The *Converso* Condition: New Approaches to an Old Question

E. MICHAEL GERLI
University of Virginia

Post-colonial theory focuses on the problem of cultural representation and the consequent manner in which human subjects become protagonists of consciousness. In particular, it takes into consideration cultural hybridities, especially those circumstances where individuals struggle to define themselves as subjects along the frontiers of cultures in contact, paying special heed to the need of human subjects continually to renegotiate their social position in terms of constantly changing synergies of power. The fields of cultural history, as well as the ethnography of communication (e.g., studies by Geertz and Darnton), offer numerous possibilities for refocusing, nuancing and problematizing our understanding of the existence of the *conversos* in pre-Expulsion Castile; and by extension, for deepening our knowledge of the exchanges between late medieval Iberian ethnicities and the processes of their transculturation. Indeed, scholars of the Iberian medieval past will no doubt recognize the affinities between contemporary post-colonial studies and the work of Spanish cultural critics and historians like Castro, Caro Baroja and Domínguez Ortiz, as well as most of their immediate successors on both sides of the Atlantic, all of whom sought to explore *avant la lettre* many of the issues that are at the center of the current post-colonial research agenda. Hence, for Hispanists, reading the post-colonial critics today often produces a sense of déjà vu.

Yet despite the similarities and points of recognition, contemporary post-colonial theory and practice offers Hispanic Studies important suggestions for ways both to broaden and nuance – refocus and problematize – the multicultural domain of the Hispano-medieval world. For example, the work of Castro and Domínguez Ortiz tends to assume that *conversos* formed a homogeneous group; they offer a vision of *conversos* that is structured fundamentally around binary oppositions and articulated along cultural and religious fault lines. In this model the exercise of power in society tends to manifest itself only as a repressive force as it underscores gestures and attitudes that are either imposed upon *conversos* or prohibited for them by institutionalized forms of authority (i.e., *estatutos de pureza de sangre*, allegations of Judaizing, censorship, Inquisition, etc.). The result is that *conversos* are portrayed as constantly threatened, marginalized and living under a specter of shame or abjection. The methodologies and theories

advanced by post-colonial studies, however, have shown us that the dynamics of power in heterogeneous cultural and social circumstances can be a very subtle and intricate enterprise that hardly ever involves simple issues that can be defined or understood as a series of binary oppositions. Cultural interstices – the spaces in between opposition and exclusion – may profitably serve as sites for the creation of positions of enunciation and attitudes that are capable of synthesizing, blurring and even erasing a cultural politics determined by polarities and resistance.¹

Through the lens of post-colonial studies there emerges a convoluted image of the forces at work in the formation of cultural identities in fifteenth-century Castile. Especially in the second half of the century, the images of the Jew and the *converso* may be considered as more problematical than previously imagined, and are marked by ambiguities that fail to denote discrete borders of identity that are constructed by society. The models of the Hispanic multicultural medieval past offered by critics and historians like Castro and Domínguez Ortiz are transformed from transparent epistemological processes structured around opposing binary forces into fluid dialogical situations replete with ongoing enunciative efforts that seek continuously to reinscribe the human subject in society. Cultural encounters thus unfold in a process that involves constant displacements that require incessant negotiation and imply continuous transformation. Accordingly, to understand a cultural phenomenon like that of the *conversos*, they must be approached from angles that permit an appreciation of the possibility of a multitude of enunciative positions, conscious of the fact that they do not constitute a unified social reality, but rather a group of heterogeneous, proteic human beings whose practices, beliefs and circumstances could vary significantly.²

Seen from the perspective of post-colonial studies, the *conversos* become the product of a complex system of cultural exchanges conditioned by diverse discourses whose corollaries cannot be reduced to a simple, clear dialectic of causes and effects (as Gilman, for example, sought to affirm in his efforts to apply the idea of a generation to the phenomenon at the end of the fifteenth century). To be sure, when closely scrutinized, many *conversos* in the fifteenth century could occupy two or more discrepant cultural positions that could underscore not only signs of difference but signs of likeness and affinity with their Old-Christian compatriots. Individual *converso* identities emerged in close contact with the

¹ Although attempts to legitimize the examination of texts in their historical contexts from a post-colonial perspective were initially criticized by many post-colonial critics for fear of introducing anachronisms into the critical process, it has recently been vindicated by scholars like Fuchs, and Fuchs and Baker, especially in relation to the formation of intellectuals of the past who both resist and elide discrete cultural forces.

² The anthropologist Rosaldo observes that transformation and hybridity 'can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contain no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation' (xv). An interesting exploration of the ideological and theological subtleties that may mark differences in the experience of conversion in fifteenth-century Castile is provided by Rosenstock.

immediate social context in which they moved and become distorted or unintelligible when examined outside of it. Hence, to understand the *converso* experience, it is necessary to pay close attention to the multiple and often contradictory negotiations and cultural synergies that define it, while at the same time remaining aware of the fact that our own reading of that experience constitutes a culturally-conditioned interchange in which our experiences play a part as well. *Conversos*, like all other human beings, are the products of a myriad of different cultural practices and discourses such as class, gender, political economy, blood and even, as I shall propose, physical well-being and their relation to the structures of power and their society's systems for representing and signifying it. The cultural genealogy of *conversos* is therefore neither stable nor transparent, and in its very instability and opacity may contradict even the clearest family trees.

The difficulty of recuperating coherent portraits of *conversos* can be illustrated by examining three fifteenth-century contemporaries, each of whom in his/her way contradicts the others and illustrates the subtle complexity of their existence. Diego de Valera, Teresa de Cartagena and Antón de Montoro are exact coevals, yet each embodies a series of profound incongruities when compared to each other and the portraits of them drawn so far by critics and historians. Montoro, for example, is known to us in large part only through the self-fashioned representations of his alterity in the well-known portrait he gives of himself in a poem addressed to Queen Isabel, where he is the abject, marginal, converted Jew. There he complains it is impossible to 'perder el nombre / de viejo puto, judío', despite, he protests, having believed all his life in 'la muy sancta fe de Criste' [*sic*] (Montoro 203).

Montoro's composition is a supplication to the queen written in the years 1474–75. In it, the poet pleads for mercy for the *conversos*, victims of popular uprisings in Andalusia in the intervening years. It is a text that exhibits a clear tragic urgency rooted in the tempestuous times and events leading up to the institution of the Inquisition in Castile. The poem closes with a chilling note of black humor in which the enunciating voice, identified as that of Montoro, pleads to the queen that she reserve the burning fires of reprisal 'hasta allá por Navidad / cuando sabe bien el fuego' (204). Montoro comes to the defense of the *conversos*, expressing in the work a solidarity with others like himself, as he becomes both defender and advocate of their rights and righteousness through grotesque humor. His voice expresses resistance just as it implores tolerance and invokes the words of the Crucified Christ as reported by Saint Luke in the New Testament ('Perdónalos Padre, que no saben lo que hacen' Luke 23:34).

In general, historians and critics have focused almost exclusively on Montoro's claims of his own social and religious alterity, based on references he makes to himself in his poetry, in which he highlights his *converso* condition and complains bitterly of unending penury and need arising from his infamous profession as a tailor. The result has been to take Montoro at face value and see in him a marginalized, alienated, ironic and abject subject on the periphery of society. Yet his self-fashioned alterity and marginality offered him not only a space in which to enunciate opposition, discrepancy and incongruity as displayed in his

poem to the queen, but also a place from which to shape a self-interested strategy for profitably approaching the magnates and power brokers of Old-Christian society in both social and economic terms.

Montoro's will, one of the very few surviving historical documents that offers evidence on his life, undermines the image of the alienated, impoverished *converso* that he deploys when making reference to himself. To be sure, this document serves as a powerful contradiction to the aberrant self-portraits he paints throughout his verse and can lead to only one conclusion: that constructing Montoro's identity on the basis of self-descriptions in his poetry, as in the cases of Chaucer, Juan Ruiz, and many other medieval poets, leads to gross simplification that only generates misunderstanding and distortion of the *converso* experience. Montoro's will points to a subtly complicated individual who was moved by ambition for social advancement and who lived in a world filled with privilege as well as with abuse. Through the will, we can descry a person with courtly aspirations and a life punctuated by social and economic success precisely by portraying himself as a marginal figure who sought to sustain a humble dialog with his immediate masters and other members of the court.

Montoro's will reveals that during the last days of his life he was actually an empowered patriarch able to endow generous dowries for his marriageable daughters, bequeath a significant inheritance to his wife and sons and leave significant portions of a substantial estate to various parishes in the city of Córdoba (Gerli, 'Antón de Montoro'). All of which confirms one thing about him: the historical Montoro was far from a marginalized, indigent rag man or an impoverished dealer of old clothes who lived off charity and the miserable gains of begging and catch-as-catch-can petty commerce. According to the will, he actually lived a life of ease and enjoyed a surprising degree of access to some of the most notable and powerful personages in the kingdom of Castile, which points to a significant degree of social legitimacy, regardless of any guarded circumstances arising from his status as a *converso*. To be sure, his proximity and access to the most powerful and privileged grandees of the court is one of Montoro's most distinguishing characteristics: he entered into poetic exchanges with, and admonished, none other than King Enrique IV, the Marqués de Santillana, the Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique, the Conde de Cabra and a number of members of the powerful Fernández de Córdoba family plus, of course, the Catholic Monarchs themselves. Once Montoro's poetry is placed in its immediate socio-historical context, and seen as an expression of the specific occasions that give rise to it, it becomes clear that he was neither a pariah nor an abject inhabitant of the social fringe, but rather an enviably well-connected, socially enfranchised individual who moved with astonishing ease amidst the members of the contemporary ruling elite.

Montoro's constitution as a subject depended to a very high degree on his ability to call attention to himself by means of the cultivation of a rhetoric of abjection – the verbal creation of a persona distinguished by its marginality and alterity. Yet his self-fashioned representation as other is always inscribed in the historical setting of the court, as he moved amidst its most lowly and most established and exalted

members, and as he negotiated with skill its often treacherous corridors of power. It must be emphasized that Montoro's self-characterization as a 'viejo puto, judío' (203) appears in a composition directed at Queen Isabel and is inscribed in the so-called *Cancionero de Burquillos*, copied next to verse by Gómez Manrique, Alfonso de la Torre, Pablo de Santa María and Pedro de Stúñiga. By underscoring in his verse those personal traits that most consign him to the margins – his *converso* origins, his indigence and his radical, even scandalous, social difference – Montoro acquires a distinct voice and textual identity that allows him to approach his guardians and patrons. In crafting the very image of heterodoxy and exclusion, Montoro legitimizes himself and occupies a social space that, under other circumstances, might have been denied him. Under the mask of a resistant other at variance with the center, then, it is possible to discover the guise of an audacious, clever, learned and ambitious courtier – a poet whose very idiom of alterity offers the possibility of proximity to power and the capability of opening wide the doors of access to members of the enfranchised ruling class.

The case of Teresa de Cartagena, granddaughter of Pablo de Santa María (Rabbi Solomon Halevi of Burgos before his conversion to Christianity in 1391), is as difficult as, and perhaps even more subtly complex than, Montoro's. While her works offer evidence that she was aware of the political plight of the *conversos* in Toledo after the rebellion of 1449, as Hutton indicates (Cartagena 35), Teresa's writings appear motivated as much by issues of gender and physical well-being as by any awareness of her Jewish origins and her family, or her status as a *conversa*. Before Teresa's *converso* roots were ever discovered, Castro (353) argued for the presence of a *converso* sensibility in her work, through which she sought to explore the spiritual possibilities offered by a type of meditative piety, in which 'en términos muy generales podemos ver [. . .] huellas del iluminismo' (Hutton in Cartagena 26). That said, however, the driving forces of Teresa's alterity are not any sense or conscious awareness of her *converso* condition or even an affinity for quietistic piety, but rather, as suggested by Deyermond, her physical infirmity – deafness – as well as gender, by the fact that she was a woman. These appear to be the dominant discursive coordinates of her subjectivity as expressed in her surviving written works. But more than the physical torments of silence and their consequent psychological effects, as Deyermond would have it, Teresa's work doubtless also arises from a radical social isolation occasioned by deafness, since the deaf until well beyond the sixteenth century were treated as other simply by virtue of their inability to hear. By this, I mean that they were treated as social outcasts, grouped with the mentally feeble and the insane, ostracized from families and kept from everyday social intercourse, often physically warehoused in convents and asylums, just as they were excluded from partaking of the Sacraments of the Church, which required that they be audibly heard and verbally acknowledged by the Christian (Saint-Loup 390–2).

If there is a sense of alienation in Teresa's works, it doubtless arises most fundamentally from her deafness and the fact that she was a woman, plus from strained family relations on account of her illness. In addition to highlighting

gender and infirmity, in her writings she indicates that she was deaf from childhood and, like those she describes who were cast out from hearth and home because of their infirmities, was a victim of exile. As if writing from bitter personal experience, she emphasizes the widespread prejudice and rejection provoked by physical illness in the world in which she moved: 'non digo que solamente los amigos e parientes le avrán [al enfermo] en desprecio, mas su mesmo padre y madre dispornán de le desempachar prestamente de su casa' (Cartagena 76), she observes, while evoking the cruelty of 'la propia madre [que] se enoja con la hija enferma, y el padre [que] aborresçe al hijo que con continuas dolencias le ocupare la posada' (63).

Predictably, Teresa's first book, the *Arboleda de los enfermos*, is a consolatory tract that she says was composed in the spirit of charity to help those who, like herself, were physically disadvantaged or suffered from physical illness. The book, however, serves not only to offer comfort and strength to others but to console its author herself since Teresa affirms that, as in her own case, physical suffering may serve as the source of spiritual well-being and inspiration. Indeed, it is in response to the world of silence that Teresa says she found the desire to take up the written word after withdrawing from the world, seeing in her deafness an explicit command from God, whose very hand 'me hizo señal que callase y çesase las hablas mundanas [. . .] E [. . .] añadió su misericordia la segunda sygna del dedo en la boca, dándome claramente a entender que no es su voluntad que yo hable en las cosas del syglo mas que calle e del todo callar' (41).

Teresa's words, however, are most powerful when, from indignation, they are used to craft a defense of her own creative abilities. She composes an eloquent apology for her creativity and identity as an author in her second book, the *Admiración operum Dey*. There she vindicates and underscores both her textual and intellectual authority, reproaching those who would seek to question them or silence her writing, revealing that her words and gestures of resistance find their foundation in her condition as a cloistered, infirm woman. A sense of righteous irony especially arises from her awareness that she lives in a culture that fails to acknowledge feminine eloquence or even the possibility of its existence. That is to say, Teresa's subjectivity and her search for authority are primarily located in her writings at the threshold of early modernity not in any quietistic expressions of piety that may be construed as the heterodoxical meditations of a *conversa*. Her work places itself squarely in the domains of illness, gender and the expressive possibilities offered by the emergence of widespread lay literacy.

To be sure, the origins of Teresa's work arise from a taut anxiety stretched between her gender, her physical infirmities, the social exigencies imposed by a cultural imperative calling for modesty and piety in all women and the desire to express herself through the written word. As Jones notes when surveying the construction of feminine subjectivities during the early Renaissance: 'in the discourses of humanism and bourgeois family theory, the proper woman is an absence [. . .] she is silent and invisible: she does not speak and she is not spoken

about' (74). If Teresa de Cartagena may be seen as nonconformist and transgressive, it is surely because of the need to express herself and make herself audible and visible as an infirm woman, as opposed to any manifestation of a *converso* sensibility or an inclination for affective piety. Teresa's *Admiración operum Dey* and its complement, the *Arboleda de los enfermos*, may profitably be considered as ironic apologies for feminine creativity and erudition as much as any expression of pious marvel at the wonders of God. Alluding to her critics, who insinuated that she had plagiarized other works in the *Arboleda de los enfermos* and who undermined her authority by asking rhetorically '¿qué palabra buena ni obra devota devéys esperar de muger tan enferma en la persona e tan bulnerada en el ánima?' (Cartagena 112). Teresa, in a clear tone of disbelief, emphatically claims her work as her own and as a direct product of personal experience:

Maravíllanse las gentes de lo que en el tractado escreuí e yo me maravillo de lo que en la verdad callé; mas no me maravillo dudando ni fago mucho en me maravillar creyendo. Pues la yspirençia me faze cierta e Dios de la verdad sabe que yo no oue otro Maestro ni me consejé con otro algund letrado, ni lo trasladé de libros [. . .]. Mas sóla ésta es la verdad: que Dios de las çiençias, Señor de las virtudes, Padre de las misericordias, Dyos de toda consolación, el que nos consuela en toda tribulación nuestra, Él solo me consoló, e Él solo me enseñó, e Él solo me leyó. (131)

Teresa de Cartagena's alterity, therefore, takes shape in the context of the tension between several socially produced forces that are in addition to religion and questions of ethnicity. They are principally attitudes toward the physically handicapped and the personal need to write in defense of the right of a woman to think and to write. Teresa defines herself as other while reflecting upon what it means to be socially outcast by infirmity and what it means to be both a woman and a writer in a masculine world. Just as she resigns herself to silence and to being a pariah and as she seeks solace in infirmity as a source of spiritual fortitude, Teresa also mounts a vigorous and poignant ironic resistance and defense against a patriarchal culture that both disdains and underestimates her. From a position of two forms of imposed silence, one physical and the other social, Teresa mordantly apologizes for what she might have said and adds 'yo me maravillo de lo que en la verdad callé' (131).

If Antón de Montoro gained socio-economic advantage by projecting self-fashioned difference and abjection and Teresa de Cartagena dealt a blow to gender bias and resisted prejudice against the infirm, a third *converso* who illustrates the endless variety of the experience, Mosén Diego de Valera, sought to efface all signs of any marginal religious or ethnic origins, all taint of social alterity, to transform himself performatively into a member of the ruling elite. A model of the assimilated *converso*, Valera was the offspring of a mixed marriage between a noblewoman and a descendant of recent converts from Judaism. His father, the *converso* Alfonso Chirino, was court physician to Juan II; his mother, María de

Valera, was from a distinguished Old-Christian family, the daughter of Juan Fernández de Valera the elder, one of the most notable and powerful magnates of the city of Cuenca (Amasuno Sárraga 13–24). In accordance with onomastic custom, Diego initially went by the name of Diego Alonso, explicitly revealing the connection to his *converso* father. At fifteen years of age, he was received at court and entered into service there, ultimately being named *doncel*, or knight in waiting, in 1429 to the prince, the future Enrique IV.

Doubtless sensitive to his *converso* origins on his father's side, Valera for the better part of his life sought to efface all traces of Semitic roots, identifying himself always with his mother's family, as evidenced in a later conscious decision to appropriate her last name as his own. A document from the chancery of Juan II points to Diego's deliberate social metamorphosis, if not in essence, at least in name, with the hope that the onomastic transformation could translate questions of ethnic and religious origins from the margins to the center. The document notes that henceforward, as commanded by the king, the youth known until then as Diego Alonso 'sea puesto e sentado en los sus libros e sea llamado Diego de Valera e por ello non le pare prejuicio' (González Palencia 46).

While attempting to elide any hint of Semitic connections through name change and underscoring genealogical links to Old-Christian origins, Valera insisted upon monopolizing the discourses of nobility at court, implicitly fashioning an aristocratic identity for himself in the process. His copious writings on questions of nobility, nobiliary protocol and the role of personal virtue in them (*El espejo de verdadera nobleza*, *Doctrinal de príncipes*, *Tratado de las armas*, *Breviloquio de virtudes* and *Ceremonial de príncipes*, in addition to his letters), develop a theory of patrician distinction based on the pre-eminence of personal merit and civic recognition as opposed to one based on blood, heritage or genealogy. In this way, Valera's writings on nobiliary themes, in addition to being learned and legitimate intellectual disquisitions on the topic, served as visible supplements to the public representation and presentation of himself as a noble and his claims to power, legitimacy and prestige.

It is clear that, given Valera's *converso* genealogy, his skill at nobiliary performances reflects much more than an effete, courtly or dilettantish interest in high society. More than social climbing they illustrate how the discourses of courtly society were infused with political and ideological issues that were central to the economies of power and legitimacy in mid-fifteenth-century Castilian society – *limpieza de sangre*, the arguments espoused by Old Christians linking social viability to genealogy and even race, in addition to the belief among some that conversion and nobility were mutually exclusive conditions. By embracing a theory of civic nobility based on personal virtue and good deeds in the service of the state, Valera not only confronted the belief in inherited distinction, but rejected all who would seek to exclude him and other worthy *conversos* from the corridors of power because of inappropriate genealogy.

Valera's nobiliary enterprise formed part of a self-fashioned program of social action that emerged from the tension between his awareness of the liabilities of a *converso* identity and the personal need to create a new persona with which to

confront the changing dynamics of power in the world in which he lived. More than a learned exercise in the history of ideas, it constitutes a classic example of what anthropologists in the ethnography of communication call a 'performance of self', since it centers squarely on the desire of an individual to display authority on subjects of social importance and thereby gain prestige and legitimacy (Bauman 133).

Valera shrewdly intuited the need to interact symbolically with the Old-Christian others among whom he moved and thus forged a public representation of himself that could offer him access and advantage. In this representation there was a clear recognition of the need to establish a defense against any hint or accusation of social illegitimacy, as well as personal conviction and belief in virtue as defining nobility. His writings on nobility thus imply a particular social stance that emerges from his cultural surroundings through which he attempts two things: to rub out his own *converso* origins and foreground an orthodox identity and image of belonging. Valera's numerous treatises on nobility and protocol are in this way all expressions of his role as an observed human subject who knows he is being observed. To avoid being seen as marginal and heterodoxical, he transforms himself into a critic and observer. One who can hardly lay claim to established forms of nobility in this way becomes its very arbiter, elaborating, setting down and defining the prevailing norms for it.

Valera had discovered that nobility and virtue belonged to a semiotic system centered on certain forms of public conduct and that their perception could be modified according to the way they were emphasized, articulated and represented in society. Through the repeated exhibition of his authority in these and all matters dealing with nobility, he succeeded in erasing his own marginal position vis-à-vis his compatriots who would equate nobility with blood, ethnicity, religion or ancestry. He thus succeeded in mimicking the other, who exercised social power and control, and moved himself from the margins to the center as he forged a long-lasting, successful career at court. Valera in this way constitutes a striking contradiction to the image of the *converso* as a culturally and morally alienated subject that is so often invoked when speaking of the ethnic and religious tensions that shaped civic life in fifteenth-century Castile.

Through the continuous display of his erudition and acumen in all things noble, and through his claim of unquestionable expertise in all matters of aristocratic privilege, Valera metamorphosed himself into not only the broker but the very custodian of what it meant to be noble, socially distinguished, and therefore powerful, at court. He was able to gain the good will and confidence of his courtly compatriots while at the same time projecting a convincing image of his own indisputable patrician identity. In brief, while under the very shadow of public awareness of his marginal, *converso* condition, his total mastery of the discourses of nobility served as the secure sign of his own high distinction. Valera in this way embodies what Bhabha calls the 'mimick man', or the subject who finds himself at the very crossroads of cultural interdiction and in defense produces a discourse of hybridity crafted from an awareness of 'what is known and permissible and that which though known must be kept concealed; a

discourse uttered between the lines and as such both against the rules and within them' (89).

While Antón de Montoro foregrounds an image of difference as he aspires to propinquity with the other, Diego de Valera effaces all traces of his as he imitates that other, ultimately defining and dictating the rules that govern the latter's own sense of distinction. Teresa de Cartagena, on the other hand, far from fleeing from the world in pursuit of spiritual illumination, and far from conforming to Judeo-Christian values that impose silence upon women, quite explicitly rejects the Pauline tradition of feminine silence to claim possession of her creativity and the right of authorship. The inescapable conclusion from all of this is that, while all *conversos*, they all embody different, heterogeneous experiences and are moved by different circumstances and desires that both resist as well as cooperate with the dynamics of power and authority of the society in which they lived. Diego de Valera submits to courtly imperatives as he self-consciously fashions an image of aristocratic likeness; Teresa de Cartagena questions the possibility of justice for the infirm just as she sees infirmity as a way to spiritual enlightenment and her gender as an impediment to free expression in a patriarchal world; Antón de Montoro embraces abjection and the caricaturesque discourse of the impecunious Jew to speak freely to the empowered, gain social advantage and ensure his own economic advancement. In short, what one perceives in these portraits is a complex, varied, highly nuanced interrelationship between ethnicity, religion, politics and even gender in the constitution of *converso* subjects. Although Montoro signals opposition to the anti-Semitic policies of the state, and Cartagena fashions herself by means of a comparison to male writers and healthy people, Valera defines himself in opposition to the politics of blood lineage just as he seeks for himself the other values and privileges espoused by those who would impose it. The only constant is the aspiration to a degree of authority capable of displacing that which they confront. Each of their voices is different and distinct, tempered by different modulations whose origins must be sought in diverse social experiences and in different regions of the human imagination.

To speak or write like a *converso* during the second half of the fifteenth century in Castile thus meant to speak or write in many different ways, all regulated and mediated by a subject's discrete social and historical circumstances. *Converso* difference is inevitably amalgamated and combined in a varied process of identity formation with many forms of alterity, many of which depend on factors that are neither purely ethnic nor religious. Signs of both likeness and difference, opposition and acceptance, are mixed as they give rise to new hybrid positions of cultural enunciation tempered by heterogeneity, inconsistency and ambiguity.

The formation of *converso* identities becomes problematical, even contradictory, when considered in the larger, multifaceted social context of fifteenth-century Castile. It is never a process determined by binary oppositions. It never involves the clear resistance of opposites; it may even appear not to have a clear logic or coherence of its own. The signs of cultural identity emitted by *converso*

subjects are mixed and often constitute a process where the possibility of a discrete form of identity is itself continually displaced or shifted. It is as if the definition of the *converso* subject were perpetually deferred when placed into contact with the other discourses that circulated at the moment of its formation. The Castile of Enrique IV and Isabel I is characterized by intense debate and crucial moments in the political life of the kingdom in which we can perceive a deep cultural, religious and psychic fragmentation. In that context there is a manifest kaleidoscope of human imperatives that compete among themselves and complicate the possibility of distinguishing a stable image of a *converso* subject. As Bhabha observes, the individual always takes shape in the in-between, in the interstices and differences of culture that 'may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, high and low; and challenge normative expectations of development and progress' (2).

Post-colonial theory affords a broadening of perspectives on the complexity of culture and allows for an appreciation of the multitude of forces that shape human subjects as they negotiate their lives with others. By heightening our awareness to the subtleties that may be introduced to the pluralistic cultural universe of late medieval Iberia by such issues as class, gender and even physical condition, as seen in the brief portraits of Montoro, Cartagena and Valera, we are compelled to rethink the image of the *converso*. In reconceptualizing *conversos*, it will be necessary to adopt a dynamic model that allows for change and the ongoing negotiation of individual identities resulting from a multitude of forces that exceed questions of just ethnic or religious origins. All of which calls for an awareness of the fact that *conversos* do not presuppose either a confluence of or a resistance to any single absolute cultural force. In the cases of Montoro and Valera, our notions of social mobility as defined by margins and centers must also yield to a more dynamic, protean vision. Each *converso* embodies a unique human circumstance capable of simultaneously producing many different signs of identity. The notion of one-dimensional *conversos* who hold a dissident ideological position impedes our fuller understanding of the human needs and desires of the past. Dissident as well as dominant subjects in fifteenth-century Castile, as indeed down to the present day, were diverse and often fraught with both affirmation and negation. To appreciate the *converso* experience, we must focus our attention on the difficulties of tracing identities in a society that was increasingly becoming more mobile. To be sure, some of the very repressive measures like the *estatutos de pureza de sangre* that were directed at *conversos* from the mid-fifteenth century on arise from the fear of the *converso*'s very social mobility and are little more than gestures aimed at quarantining and containing them as they found new ways of incorporation and belonging in society. When we speak or write about *conversos*, we should seek to keep in mind the multiple possibilities of their combining questions of ethnicity, class and gender, in addition to politics and forms of spirituality, so as to grasp better the social synergies and the economies of power that shaped everyday life in the Iberian Peninsula at the end

of the Middle Ages.³ We should remain cognizant of the need to identify a myriad of factors that inform all cultural transactions and exchanges and complicate the enunciative position of people when confronting historical circumstances. *Converso* identities, like all human identities, are constructed by a plethora of forces that may bear on the subject. The signifier '*converso*' may often shift according to the particular context, position and social location of the enunciating subject. The *converso* in fifteenth-century Castile provides a multiplicity of sites that can be read in multiple ways.

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³ Greenblatt notes that all cultural representation is always implicated in a complex web of social relations: 'Any given representation', he observes, 'is [. . .] itself a social relation, linked to the group understandings, status, hierarchies, resistances, and conflicts that exist in other spheres of the culture in which it circulates' (6).

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Speaking through Many Voices: Polyphony in the Writings of Teresa de Cartagena

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Ever since Deyermond first brought Teresa de Cartagena (c.1420 – c.1460) to our attention in 1976, and then again in 1983, this time in the context of other female authors of late medieval Spain, the scholarly bibliography on Teresa and others – e.g., Leonor López de Córdoba and Florencia Pinar – has expanded rapidly. The feminist scholarship is especially admirable but still has much more to tell us about her and her irruption into a world of writing dominated by men.¹ These and other new developments in Teresa scholarship have illuminated such crucial areas as her social context, family associations, her love of learning and the desire for God (as Leclercq expressed it), and her status as precursor to Teresa of Ávila and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.²

In this essay, my principal goal is to review Teresa's two works – *Arboleda de los enfermos* and *Admiración operum Dey* – not so much for what she says in them as for the varied voices she adopts effectively to think through her mission as author. To this end, I present and, in part, categorize a variety of voices that the readers will find blended with her own. These variations in voice accompany, or are the result of, the various attitudes, postures or roles she assumes within these two works. As we will have occasion to observe, several of these voices are channeled by Teresa: that is, she becomes the instrument of their 'speaking' in both texts. They speak through her because she gives them vocal space in her writing. What I will claim from the outset is that she makes excellent rhetorical use of her selection of voices as she weaves them into the whole cloth of her central arguments. Taken together, the several voices form a series of polyphonic cadences that characterize her unique style as a writer.

That said, I would like to begin the presentation of Teresa's voices with the subject of non-voices, or silence, so essential to – and so eloquently represented

¹ Teresa has received much attention since she was among the first Spanish women to take up a pen. A few useful studies are those by Surtz, Vicente García and Quispe-Agnoli.

² Other than the studies by Surtz and Vicente García, of interest are those by Cortés Timoner and Redondo Goicochea.

in – the *Arboleda*. Its presence anticipates the more effective oxymoron – *música callada* – of Luis de León and shares mystical overtones with it. This is a specific private silence as Teresa experiences it. She tells us that it is manifested in an inner chamber, or *claustra*, from within which she senses God's essence communicating to her. In this *claustra* she 'hears' that she is to glorify Him with her submission to His will that she live out her life thrust into true silence: a silence that is permanent, not the silence caused by a sudden hush or cessation of real-world noise. Her consolation, or reward, for accepting and cherishing this silence will be made manifest in the deeper understanding she gains as she opens her inner (spiritual) ear to God, the sounds of the outside (material) world safely shut out. This is Teresa's description of the sign and the signification of the *claustra*:

Y pues tanta claustra Dios a puesto en mi oír, bien paresçe que por ygual peso me mande reglar en el hablar, así que con la segunda signa del dedo en la boca me manda callar el Señor soberano, demostrándome [. . .] que no es su voluntad que me ocupe en ninguna fabla mundana, *mas que tenga sylençio entero para que mejor pueda entender lo que con el ruydo de las ocupaciones seglares entender no pudiera.*

(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 42; emphasis added)³

If this were all there was to it, of course, we would have no text and we could leave Teresa alone with her God. However, as Deyermund and others have helped make clear, her *Arboleda* is a work written as an exercise in seeking consolation, in finding her way toward understanding the wonderful, if mysterious, design that God chose for her in His taking away her auditory faculties some twenty years earlier.⁴ And in the pages of the *Arboleda* in which she dramatizes her quest for this consolation, she will utilize, fully and well, many real-world voices as well as the voices 'overheard' by her in the silent reading of books. These latter voices, emerging from remembered passages appropriate to her mission, provide moral support along the road to discovery and final consolation.

Teresa's earliest voice is a representation of her own and is epistolary in nature, addressed to a silent recipient/reader in each of her treatises. This reader, an unidentified 'virtuosa señora' (Cartagena 37) in the *Arboleda*, becomes a kindred, and perhaps the same, 'virtuosa señora' in the *Admiración* (Cartagena 111), where she is unambiguously identified as Juana de Mendoza, wife of Gómez

³ This and all other citations of Teresa's work are by page number from Hutton's edition, without indication of his editorial intervention. A new 'edición crítica singular' was presented as a dissertation at Brown University by Castro Ponce, available through University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan (AAT 3006698).

⁴ Teresa often, as here, uses her most conversational voice to address her narratee(s): '¡Pues ved si a buen tienpo me socorrió el Señor soberano con esta pasyón, *que oy son veynte años* que este freno ya dicho [su sordera] començó a costreñir la haz de mis vanidades!' (Cartagena 51; emphasis added).

Manrique, to whom Teresa assigns a wide range of endearing epithets.⁵ Thus both of Teresa's narratives are endowed with a textual narratee and it is through this figure that we become substitute silent readers, reading, as it were, over Juana de Mendoza's shoulder.

Next we find that she adopts an autobiographical, or self-conscious, voice with which to explain or defend her motivation – admittedly unusual – for putting pen to paper: that of finding a counterpoint for the silence of a solitude that she cannot confront in any other way:

pues así es que esta tan esquivia e durable soledat apartar de mí no puedo, *quiero hazer guerra a la ocçiosydat ocupándome en esta pequeña obra*, la qual bien se puede dezir que no es buena nin comunal, mas mala del todo. Pero pues el fin porque se haze es bueno, bien se puede seguir otro mayor bien.

(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 39; emphasis added)

Although there will then follow a generous amount of personal information and reflection, Teresa prepares us, as she progresses along her literary path towards consolation, for the need to include other voices, and not only those she has heard in her books. Thus it is that, blending selected voices with her own in a harmonized chorus, she will be led toward a satisfactory rationale for her suffering, her 'pasyón'. Here is her eloquent and moving appeal for an amplification of the number of voices she wills into being:

E porque mi pasyón es de tal calidat e tan porfiosa que tan poco me dexa oír los buenos consejos como los malos, conviene sean tales los consejos consoladores que syn dar bozes a mi sorda oreja, me puedan poner en la claustra de sus graçiosos e santos consejos; para lo qual *es neçesario de recorrer a los libros, los quales de arboledas saludables tienen en sí marauillosos enxertos*.

(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 38; emphasis added)

I would like to address some of these choral voices that Teresa finds various ways of ventriloquizing into her two treatises. These are very distinct but also very persuasive voices, and each proves to be more than mere rhetorical adornment for her writing. In fact, taken together they provide the essential, crucial underpinnings of her exposition. Teresa reproduces ancient voices, many from *the Book*, the Bible. The most familiar voice invoked, perhaps, is that of King David in the Psalms (Cartagena 38, 125, 131). We are privy, also, to the voice of

⁵ In the *Admiración* Juana de Mendoza is described not only as 'virtuosa' (Cartagena 113, 114, 119), but also as 'discreta e amada' (Cartagena 114), 'grand' (Cartagena 116), 'muy amada' (Cartagena 119) y 'muy venturosa' (Cartagena 121). The more frequent appeals to her epistolary 'señora' here seem to reflect the greater sense of urgency we derive from Teresa's presentation of her defense as a woman who is also endowed (by God) as a writer, despite the 'admiración' it has caused in the 'prudentes varones' (Cartagena 113) who doubt her authorship and accuse her of plagiarism (Cartagena 131).

God from Genesis (Cartagena 118) and of Christ from the Gospels (Cartagena 132, 137); the voices of the evangelists Matthew (Cartagena 112), Luke (Cartagena 93) and John (Cartagena 38); the voices of Paul (Cartagena 116, 120, 124), Jeremiah (Cartagena 106) and Tobias (Cartagena 55, 135–6); the voices of Jacob in Genesis (Cartagena 97), the archangel Raphael (Cartagena 55) and unattributed voices from the book of Hebrews (Cartagena 92) and the Apocalypse (Cartagena 54, 136).⁶ Many other Old and New Testament voices are cited, and Teresa bends, or contextualizes, them all so that they speak to her own private inquiry.

She speaks also through the voices of the great Churchmen, invoking the voice of St Francis, whose ‘estoria’ she tells us she has read (Cartagena 81), and also those of Saints Jerome (Cartagena 86, 116), Augustine (Cartagena 86, 104, 114–15), Bernard (Cartagena 75, 80) and Gregory (Cartagena 71, 73, 89, 136). She finds echoes of her own emotional landscape in translating the words ‘in hac lachrymarum valle’ from the liturgical hymn, *Salve regina* (Cartagena 122).⁷ In yet another passage she evokes the silent voice of the missal, which has accompanied her prayers always (Cartagena 121).

Interestingly, although Teresa calls to our attention her use of ancient *auctoritates* as vital supports for her soul-searching in the *Arboleda*, she also introduces contemporary, living voices into her argumentation. In short, not all her reasons for utilizing other voices have a purpose related to biblical or patristic authority. For Teresa, a full understanding includes the humble and homely as well. Here she is, for example, recalling the several voices of flesh and blood physicians, in the *Admiración*:

E acuérdomе que oý dezir a los doctores de medeçina que el cuerpo vmano es regido por quatro humores, e quando alguno de aquéstos se altera e mueve demasiadamente, luego el cuerpo adoleçe grauemente. E asý paresçe acaesçer al entendimiento e los humores por que es regido e avn governado el nuestro entendimiento. (Cartagena 134–5; emphasis added)⁸

Teresa adduces, too, the voices of the *pueblo*, of ordinary folk in the world around her. In the following passage, she reproduces the exact words of some well-meaning people who only succeed in annoying her (and us) through inconsiderate remarks, perhaps made unintentionally:

⁶ All of the foregoing references merely identify a small number of examples: many more are to be found in the texts.

⁷ These are also the words Pleberio uses to close his soliloquy in Act XXI of *Celestina*.

⁸ For Teresa, there is also a ‘verdadero Médyco’, an epithet she uses to refer to God (Cartagena, *Admiración* 137); compare this with the following in her *Arboleda*: ‘Mas bien paresçen las dolencias corporales ser xarope confaçonado e hordenado de *aquel soberano Físycos* cuya sola palabra restañará vniversa’ (Cartagena 75–6; emphasis added). The human ‘físycos’ are portrayed as not meeting the real needs of the sinner (Cartagena *Arboleda* 93, 101).

E no syn razón me enojan algunas personas quando me ruegan y dizen: ‘Yd a fulanos qu’ os quieren ver e aunque vos no lo oygaes, oyrán ellos a vos.’
(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 41)

These are voices Teresa cannot hear but are nonetheless as real to her as if she could. She reacts to still other voices of ignorance with rather greater harshness, as in this passage:

Ay algunas personas que con ynorançia dizen: ‘¡Qué bien se están los dolientes que se están holgando!’ Yo llamo a esta tal ynorançia, ynorançia maliçiosa, llena de envidia espiritual. (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 80)

The injustice of these prejudices is, in Teresa’s view, not innocent ignorance, but rather malicious and envious calumny. Like many others, she is a true sufferer (‘doliente’) but is not enjoying it (‘holgando’) in the least, even as she seeks to know why it is good to suffer.

Again, another hypothetical presentation of the popular, or anonymous, collective voice, permits her to give rein to her own voice:

E por ventura *alguno querrá aquí arguyr diciendo que todos creen esto*: que Dios es asý onipotente, que syn curso de estudios ni aver aprendido letras puede hazer de vn synple onbre el mayor letrado que en mundo aya [. . .]. *A lo qual respondo, que es buena razón la ya dicha.*
(Cartagena *Admiración* 128; emphasis added)

On at least one occasion where the voices are presented as anonymous, it seems clear that Teresa knows the identity of the real voices referred to, but protects or hides them behind a vague ‘they’. Speaking directly to her epistolary patron, Juana de Mendoza, she writes:

E porque *me dizen*, virtuosa señora, que el ya dicho bolumen de papeles borrados aya venido a la notiçia del señor Gómez Manrique e vuestra, no sé sy la dubda, a bueltas del tractado se presentó a vuestra discreçión.
(Cartagena, *Admiración* 114; emphasis added)

Sometimes even Teresa’s own voice echoes – and thus reproduces – the structures of proverbial or sententious voices, as in the following examples from the *Arboleda*: ‘el ablar es prolixo sin el oýr’ (Cartagena 41) and ‘más meritorio y loable es no querer pecar que no poder pecar’ (Cartagena 58) or ‘quien no los conosçe, los compre’ (Cartagena 59), and ‘Ca más vale vn día de pasçiençia perfeta que no diez años de salud corporal’ (Cartagena 101).⁹

⁹ I have not spotted this kind of language in the *Admiración*. There it would seem that Teresa’s argumental line, being more focused by her intense reaction to the negative reception of her authorship of the *Arboleda*, uses voices that are less wide-ranging in scope.

Teresa on a few occasions reproduces her own spoken voice as an integral part of a dialogue, staged almost certainly to afford her a new occasion to reflect upon her situation and her quest for consolation:

bien sé que podrá dezir qualquiera que ésta mi pasyón me pone enbargo en el oýr pero no en el hablar, pues la lengua está libre de pasión. A la qual pregunta respondo: ‘¿Cuál es la causa prinçipal porque nos fué dada lengua y hablares?’ Verdát que la principal aquello creo ser que menos vsamos, la qual es para loar e bendezir a Dios. (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 41; emphasis added)

And on one of these occasions, using a bit of astute ventriloquism, she blends her own voice with that of the Psalmist as she proclaims God’s beneficial influence in her life:

Mas sóla ésta es la verdad [. . .] Él solo me consoló, e Él solo me enseñó, e Él solo me leyó. Él ynclinó su oreja a mí que çercada de grandes angustias e puesta en el muy hondo piálago de males ynseparables, *le llamaua con el Profecta diziendo: ‘Sálvame Señor, ca entra el agua hasta el ánima mía.’* (Cartagena, *Admiración* 131; emphasis added)

These few examples could easily be multiplied. They speak clearly to Teresa’s recourse not only to books and reading, as she freely acknowledges – books easily accessible to her as a votary in a religious order –, but also to a wider range of both traditional and contemporary oral sources, including self-quotes.

Let us turn our attention now to the speaking roles Teresa scripts for herself in her treatises. First, as we have seen, she frequently speaks with an autobiographical voice as she introduces real-life events into her writings. We heard that voice earlier when she spoke of her relationship to deafness, in her praise of God’s choice of silence for her. The following declaration, related to that earlier one, seems to me also important to her quest for consolation, as she pleads to hear His voice:

E por mi voluntat, *desde la cuna me fuera dada aquesta pasyón*, porque no pudiera pasar las claustras de mis orejas palabra en qu’ ofendido o no seruido a Dios aya. ¡O Señor, *escuchar e oýr deseo la duçedunbre de la tu boz!* Ca syn dubda puedo dezir: ‘La boz tuya es dulce e la tu cara hermosa.’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 44; emphasis added)

So happy is Teresa, so firm is her acceptance of her deafness that she could wish, even now, never to have had any ‘mundane’ words reach her ears, to abolish even her aural memory. The only voice she – as a sincere supplicant – desires now to ‘hear’ is that of her God. And having heard it, in her world of silence, her statement that it would not bother her to have been born deaf reflects the intensity of her present and future happiness in serving the will of her God.

Teresa speaks also of events in her life other than this central, defining one. She reveals that she has been afflicted for a full twenty years (Cartagena,

Arboleda 51), and confesses to a previous unwillingness to abandon the world of earthly speech.¹⁰ She makes clear reference to her earlier hearing period in a passage where she expresses a special admiration for the patience of her fellow sufferer, Job: ‘E para le nonbrar como deseo quiero dezir que *me acuerdo de vn tiempo, el qual era antes que mis orejas cerrasen las puertas a las bozes humanas*, aver oýdo en los sermones traer por testigo y aprovaçión de sus dichos al Maestro de Sentençias’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 96; emphasis added), and continues on to add, as a personal note: ‘pero mi devoçión este nonbre le pone, conviene a saber: Maestro de las Paçiençias’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 97). It is here that Teresa tells the reader that before entering the convent, she had studied in Salamanca.¹¹ She reveals these autobiographical statements in bits and pieces, utilizing them when the authority and authenticity of her own experiences make them appropriate.

There is, additionally, a plural voice that she makes use of when she chooses to generalize her own experience, usually in the familiar context of her suffering. This becomes Teresa’s voice of inclusion, when she becomes one with others who suffer, and when she offers them – she imagines ‘them’ as readers – her own experience of seeking and finding consolation. She sees in her divinely ordered call to silence a signpost of a larger, shared experience:

E paresçe aver acaesçido a mí lo que vehemos acaesçer quando fablan muchos en vn tropel y les paresçe que en otra parte oyen bozes.

(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 40)¹²

But if this everyday, shared experience actually excludes Teresa from the speaking world, she soon discovers that her suffering, or ‘pasyón’, provides another common bond to those who still dwell in that hearing world.

¹⁰ ‘Dígolo por mí, *ca deste crímine me hacuso*, que la verdat mesma me acusa y la perseuerançia de mi pasyón me condena, e la tardança syn prouecho, que *en la calle deste mundo tantos años me detiene*, da testimonio estar paralítico mi entendimiento’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 57; emphasis added).

¹¹ Wishing to explain, in the *Arboleda*, how the virtues dwell within patience, and patience within them all, Teresa hedges on her astuteness for clarifying this for readers: ‘ca a esto no bastaría mi flaco juyzio, mas segund la pequeña facultad de aquél y *los pocos años que yo estudié en el estudio de Salamanca*, los quales más me hazen dina de remisyón plenaria en la sinpleza de lo sobredicho que no me otorgan sabiduría en lo que dezir quiero’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 103; emphasis added). The reference to ‘el estudio en Salamanca’ has puzzled scholars. Since in her era no females could be admitted to study at the university, it is probable that Teresa was sent at an early age (prior to the onset of her deafness) to study at a convent school in Salamanca, where not only novices in the order but also daughters of the propertied classes could study.

¹² The same usage is encountered elsewhere: ‘Como vehemos acaesçer algunas vezes quando estos ya dichos bienes están en vilo’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 107); ‘como vemos por esperençia quando alguna persona de synple e rudo entendimiento dize alguna palabra que nos paresca algund tanto sentida’ (Cartagena, *Admiración* 113).

¿Mas qué diré de los enfermos que *con nuestras dolencias* podríamos conseguir tan rica presa y *por nuestros pecados escojemos de nos quedar en la calle?* (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 56; emphasis added)

This is a bond she affirms time and again: ‘Por ende bien son de fuyr tales alegrías dañosas, espeçialmente a los enfermos *con quien tengo hecha carta de hermandad*’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 61; emphasis added). Her voice, now a fully collective one, takes on a hortatory coloring:

Suframos el tormento por respecto del fin, amemos la dolencia no por sý sola, ca no lo mereçe, mas por respecto de la virtud; amemos a quien nos ama [. . .]. Las dolencias e afliçiones nos aman, conuiene que las amemos.
(Cartagena, *Arboleda* 62)

Teresa reaches out and offers to share her consolation with all who suffer. In the following passage she is in the midst of explicating the parable of the talents:

E para esto mejor entender, es neçesario de acatar con diligencia y contar bien de *nuestro espaçio cuántos marcos reçebimos los dolientes y apasyonados en el suelo de las dolencias.* (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 69; emphasis added)

Teresa’s identification with others is, then, linked to several other strands of her exposition. She uses a voice that lets us see an almost maternal concern, an intimate need, for counseling others. With this voice she speaks – *yo to tú* – to the infirm she invokes in the *Arboleda*. She does this deftly as she allegorizes the fifth and last talent (*marco*):

Yo no sé quién mejor ni tan bien lo pueda sentir que aquél o aquélla que lo ve por sus ojos y lo trata con sus manos. Por ende *si tú, enfermo*, quieres saber la diversidad y grandeza de bienes que en este quinto marco se contiene, *comiença* a ymaginar y reboluer en *tu entendimiento* la multitud de los males que en el cuerpo desenpachado de dolencias *cometiste.* (Cartagena 91; emphasis added)

Pues, *piensa tú, enfermo*, que aquél con tanta diligencia quiere prevenir *tus daños* y proveer de remedio aquéllos, que con tanta diligencia acata desde arriba *tu coraçón* y entrañas por ver si hallará *en ti* gradescimiento de buenas obras, o a lo menos, retribución de graçias. (Cartagena 92–3; emphasis added)¹³

Another of Teresa’s scripted roles is that of the social critic. In this third-person role, she displays a keen, knowing eye, and the resulting observations complement the general complaint about ‘la fabla mundana’. A few examples from the *Arboleda* will serve to illustrate.

¹³ Two extended examples, from the *Arboleda*, are: ‘¡O, enfermo y muy enfermo [. . .]! *Quéxaste* de los corporales dolores’ (Cartagena 95; emphasis added); y ‘Pues *conosçe*, enfermo, quién es paçiencia y *hallarás* que otra tan discreta e prudente perlada no la ay en el mundo’ (Cartagena 100; emphasis added).

Pero a las vezes acaesçe c'asý en esta figura de perlados o pontífices entra el príncipe de tiniebras, haziéndoles dar mal cabo de sí e de sus súbditos.

(Cartagena 78)

Ca segunt la caridad es fría en el mundo y avn dell todo elada, sy la franqueza de los beneficios no aliuia los coraçones ligeramente, se enojan de servir.

(Cartagena 79)

Por consyguiente paresçe defectuoso no tener salud para yr a la yglesia a adorar a Aquél que es verdadera Salud, y estarse quatro oras al tablero o andarse vagamundo por la villa. (Cartagena 85)

These more public voices can also be seen as attributes, or postures, of the preacher as he works to persuade the devout of one or another position. It is clear that Teresa is making good use of the preacher's voice. She has herself prefaced the use of this voice by stating: 'Asý que la lengua por sí sola no es aprouechosa sino en dos cosas: la una es loar y bendezir a Dios, la otra *predicar al pueblo*: ca estas dos sin replicato se pueden exercer' (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 42; emphasis added).

Her voice as preacher and sermonizer, presenter and explicator of biblical texts, is evident everywhere in both treatises. She uses her own first-person voice in her presentation and analysis of biblical citations that offer her pathways to consolation: in the parables of the talents (Cartagena 69–92) or of the five loaves (Cartagena 115); in rationalizing the role of a doorknocker as a call to prayer (Cartagena 56); and in the adaptations of the tales of Job (Cartagena 96–105) and Judith (Cartagena 119–21) and in many other sections. The distinctions made as she wends her way through these passages endow her prose with the voice of the preacher's moral authority, as for example, in this passage from the *Arboleda*:

E no se marauillen algunos si digo que la tristeza tomada con tenprança y mesura es buena y prouechosa, mas avn digo, que es muy conplidera e salu-dable. (Cartagena 60)

Here in the *Admiración*, Teresa espouses rhetorically with the voice of a capable lawyer, or pedagogue, the superiority of grace that comes only from God:

c'asý paresçe manifiesto que estos ya dichos bienes de graçia sean mayores e más syngulares que no los de natura e fortuna. Esto es por tres razones: la primera porque sobrepujan la fuerça de la natura humana [. . .]; la segunda porque son más eçelentes e más durables bienes e de mayor prouecho e reposo al ánima [. . .]; la terçera razón, porque deçienden de más alta fuente, conviene a saber: de la graçia de Dios. (Cartagena 124)

While the preacher's vocal characteristics and rhetorical training are stamped everywhere upon her two treatises, also stamped upon them is the self-referentiality of the texts, of Teresa aware that she is a writer writing. In the *Arboleda*, for example, as she preaches the virtues of patience, the author's self-conscious voice surfaces: 'por ende no me paresçe deve quedar la paçiençia con

sólo el nonbre que *en este synple y breue tractado* es nonbrada en algunos logares' (Cartagena 63; emphasis added). Her desire to select only effective examples as she writes is reflected as well, as in this excerpt from her sermon on pride: '*quíselo poner en este cuento* [la abundancia de bienes temporales como raíz de soberbia] por más claramente mostrar [. . .] por quantas partes la soberuia puede pervalesçer' (Cartagena 78; emphasis added). The writer's own voice is on the surface again in both of the following: 'Ca segund dixe en vna parte de este tractado' (Cartagena 79); and 'C'asý yo en esta espiritual obra, syguiendo mi devoçión [. . .], quiérollo dezir asý synple e brevemente como lo entiendo' (Cartagena 103).

In the *Admiración*, owing to the defensive posture in a new role as accused non-writer of the *Arboleda*, Teresa's voice is often intimately associated with her gender. Previously, the matter of her gender had surfaced in close association with the humility attached to being both a female and a writer. This was, for example, how she rationalized, as a woman writing, her recourse to King David's Psalms: '*E como la baxeza e grosería de mi mugeril yngenio a sobir más alto non me consienta*, [. . .] comyenço a buscar en su deuotýsimo cançionero, que "Salterio" se llama, algunas buenas consolaçiones' (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 38; emphasis added). This humility is so often alluded to that it becomes a salient leit-motif in both treatises.

There is, however, a distinction since, in the *Arboleda*, Teresa's assumption of humility refers to her 'ingenio' or her 'entendimiento' as a writer per se.¹⁴ It is later, when her authorship is disbelieved or seen as plagiarism of male writing (Cartagena 131), that her gender most clearly attaches firmly to her voice as writer: that is, in the *Admiración*.¹⁵ Here her gendered voice is clarion clear and vibrant.

Pues, ¿qué debda tan escusada es dubdar que *la muger entienda algund bien e sepa hazer tractados o alguna otra obra loable e buena, avnque no sea acostunbrado en el estado fimineo?* (Cartagena 118–19; emphasis added)

And we hear it often and emphatically. The shock engendered in male readers is gently countered by Teresa in this one memorable sentence:

¹⁴ Other examples from the *Arboleda* include: 'la pequeña facultad de mi pobre juyzio no lo quiero negar, antes me plaze emplearlo en su seruicio' (Cartagena 63–4); 'E yo dyscurriendo por el libro de su genalosía, segund mi synpleza lo puedo sentir' (Cartagena 76); 'Este marco es de tan grand, preçioso y valeroso metal, que a lo sentir ni entender mi entendimiento no basta' (Cartagena 91); 'yo mirando o syguiendo los pasos de su santa ystoria [Job] segund mi rudo yngenio lo puedo entender, yo hallo que [. . .]' (Cartagena 97); and 'E avn me paresçe, sy mi synple pensamiento non me engaña' (Cartagena 105).

¹⁵ This does not mean that all references to humility in the *Admiración* are to be seen in the light of Teresa's gender as, for example, when addressing her remarks to Juana de Mendoza, she writes: 'yo, que soy un pequeño pedaço de tierra, atréuome presentar a vuestra grand discreçión esto que a la mía pequeña e flaca por agora se ofresçe' (Cartagena 114). She also knows the limits to her human knowledge: 'conosçiendo la pequeñeza e ynsuficiencia de mi rudo entendimiento e la angosta capacidaç que para conosçer [. . .] en mí avía' (Cartagena 131).

Maravíllanse las gentes de lo que en el tractado escreuí e yo me maravillo de lo que en la verdad callé; mas no me maravillo dudando ni fago mucho en me maravillar creyendo. (Cartagena 131)

Her answer to surprise is surprise. As a female writer under attack, Teresa is quite clear – and perhaps ironic – in her defense of the glorification of God's role in her life. If the notion of femaleness is less evident when she was writing from the heart, in the *Arboleda*, it becomes the key element in the *Admiración*.

E manificar a Dios e acatar con diligencia devota la grandeza de sus beneficios e misericordias e gracias, e manifestarlas a las gentes recontándolo a gloria e a manificación del su santo Nonbre, lo qual yo, *avunque con poca devoçión e menos prudencia, pero segund la mi mugeril e pequeña suficiencia, hize.*
(Cartagena 137–8; emphasis added)

But Teresa looks ahead, too, to a time when women writing will not be such a revolutionary act. The desire and inspiration to write, as do all things, come from God: that is where we must look for understanding. She expands on this idea in an exquisite rhetorical series which requires quoting in full:

E así seguirá que quando viéremos que Dios ha fecho o faze de nada alguna cosa, loaremos la su onipotencia; e quando viéremos que de pequeñas cosas ha fecho e faze Dios grandes cosas, loaremos la su manificación; e quando viéremos que a los synples e rudos entendimientos haze Dios sabidores e guardadores de la ley, loaremos a su eternal sabiduría; e quando viéremos que a los malos da Dios entender e obrar algunos bienes, loaremos su ynes-timable bondad; e quando viéremos que los buenos e justos reciben de Dios premios e gualardones, loaremos la su justicia; e quando viéremos que a los pecadores faze Dios gracias e mercedes, e loaremos la su grand misericordia; e sy viéremos que *las henbras hazen tractados, e loaremos los dones de la su santa gracia e diuinal largueza.*
(Cartagena, *Admiración* 125–6; emphasis added)

Does Teresa utilize yet other voices? Yes, she does. There is the voice that she uses to invoke a direct communion with God: 'Señor, que vea yo luz por la qual conosca que eres verdadera Luz e Sol de justicia; que vea yo luz por la qual conosca en éstos mis públicos males los ascondidos bienes de la tu grand misericordia' (Cartagena, *Admiración* 133).¹⁶ There is the voice of King David, the believer, echoed by the devout Catholic nun: 'E avn creo por cierto que esta es la verdad que el Profeta nos enseña en el salmo donde dize: "Señor, Señor

¹⁶ This voice is heard frequently, since it is one of the two purposes of the human voice, as we have seen (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 42). Again, from the first treatise, we hear Teresa in direct and personal dialogue with God: '¡O Señor, escuchar e oír deseo la duçedunbre de la tu boz! Ca syn dubda puedo dezir: "La boz tuya es dulce e la tu cara hermosa"' (Cartagena 44).

nuestro, ¡quán maravilloso es el tu nonbre en toda la tierra!”’ (Cartagena, *Admiración* 125). There is the voice of the daughter whose filial piety is affirmed in the passage where Teresa explicates the Psalmist’s text on the awe of God.¹⁷ There is her voice as the vessel of God: ‘diré aquello que Dios por su ynfinita misericordia a mi synpleza administrar quisyere’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 70).

Still other voices can be heard, too, as when Teresa becomes an amateur philologist: ‘[no] ay cosa más flaca que nuestra humanidad, y por esto es llamada en la Escritura flagelidad, que a mi paresçer quiere dezir flaquedat o flaqueza’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 104). Teresa, so accustomed to seek authority in other voices, can give answers on her own authority, as she does here: ‘E sy queredes saber quál es la escuela donde se aprende e loa esta verdadera çiençia, digo que es la continua menbrança de los beneficios de Dios’ (Cartagena, *Admiración* 128; emphasis added).

Having singled out the many – perhaps not all – choral voices that give special weight to Teresa’s self-portrayals as seeker of consolation and writing female subject, it may now be wise to reassemble them and sum up. Her technique and style, as I like to think, are simultaneously the one and the many. I have dissected the treatises in search of the multiple vocal strands that lend their special tone and style. These are the many voices that she employs not only to frame but also to fill in and populate her two works. As the generic components multiply (the epistolary, the consolatory, the sermonary, the social commentary, the private and the public), so do the first-person postures that fit naturally with them.

Just as attitudes vary, from the admonitory to the laudatory, from the compassionate to the judgmental or critical, from the passive to the aggressive, so, too, do the voices that give Teresa’s treatises their distinct emotional heft. While it is true that many of these voices overlap or intertwine – and I do not wish in dissecting the texts to suggest that they do not – I have attempted to understand what might be the emotional impact. In Teresa’s own selection of voices, I find many subtle nuances that enrich our reading and appreciation of the *Arboleda de los enfermos* and the *Admiración operum Dei*. Throughout the exposition of the *Arboleda*, by adding to her voices those of many learned and popular *auctoritates*, she paradoxically succeeds in giving voice to her silent conversation, joyful and uplifting, with God. In musical terms, Teresa’s writing style strikes us not as the simple but lilting melody of the flute but, rather, as the tumbling harmonies of the church organ, swelling with its compatible harmonies and imposing its sounds and its silence.

¹⁷ Teresa explains that the sacred awe of God (*timor Dei*) has two components: one is to do with service, the other with filial piety. She speaks for herself and for all believers: ‘Por ende, avnque el temor de seruidumbre no devemos arredrar de nuestro lado teniendo a Dios como a nuestro soberano Señor, en pero devemos añadir temor filial temiéndole con grande amor, ca este temor es a Dios más aplazible y a nosotros más meritorio’ (Cartagena, *Arboleda* 81).

We hear several of the same voices in the *Admiración* as we do in the *Arboleda*, though in differing proportions. The difference is due to the new element of self-defense that endows the text with its specific structural coherence. In this second work, we overhear, in a manner of speaking, Teresa addressing herself and coming more fully to appreciate the newness of her triple role: as writer; as a woman who writes; and as a woman who writes with a desire to come closer to God by glorifying His name. Many women in Iberia who followed later did indeed write *tractados* and, as Teresa herself foresaw, we have come, although not always easily, to value them. That Teresa de Jesús and Sor Juana, among many others, could write so freely about their own conversations with God is due, in no small part, to the robust emotional and intellectual groundwork of Teresa de Cartagena, and, as I hope to have made the case, to Teresa's voices as well.¹⁸

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¹⁸ Surtz points out that most nuns writing before Teresa of Ávila most often penned their texts at the request of their confessors so that their orthodoxy might be examined (1–20). Indeed, this was the motive for Teresa of Ávila's own *Vida*, published, unusually, just six years after her death. However, a few early nuns, like Teresa de Cartagena, did write out of personal motivation. These manuscripts were not penned for publication, but some have in the twentieth century been edited and published. Would Teresa of Ávila (or Sor Juana) have had access to these early writings? Tellingly, Surtz concludes that 'the nuns who anticipated Teresa [of Ávila] worked in isolation; it is *extremely unlikely* that they even knew about one another' (19–20, emphasis added). Even so, many shared ideas, themes and structures reappear in their confessional writings.

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Chains of Iron, Gold and Devotion: Images of Earthly and Divine Justice in the *Memorias* of Doña Leonor López de Córdoba

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Doña Leonor López de Córdoba (c.1362–1430) wrote one of Spain's first auto-biographical narratives.¹ Unknown for most of its existence, *Memorias* was rediscovered in the late eighteenth century. It did not attract much interest as a literary text, however, until Ayerbe-Chaux edited it in 1977.² Since then, it has been included in many anthologies of medieval texts and become one of the most frequently-read works of the Spanish Middle Ages.

Many critics have studied it as an independent account of the death of Pedro I of Castile and of the execution of Leonor's father, Martín López de Córdoba, *maestre* of Alcántara and Calatrava.³ Others have explored the complex issues associated with an historical narrative written by a woman. No one has considered

¹ Leonor López de Córdoba (b.1362/1363) was the daughter of Martín López de Córdoba and Sancha Carrillo. Her mother was brought up as a companion to the daughters of Pedro I. Her father was a favorite of the king. At the age of seven, she was married to Ruy Gutiérrez de Hinestrosa, son of Pedro I's head chamberlain.

² The original was kept in San Pablo de Córdoba but is now lost. The text was believed to have survived in two transcriptions, one now lost (Ayerbe-Chaux 13). Ayerbe-Chaux made his edition from the other transcription kept at the Biblioteca Colombina (63-9-73) in Seville. As Lacarra explains in a forthcoming article, López de Córdoba does not mention a brother Álvaro, but we may owe the survival of *Memorias* to an attempt to provide Álvaro with a distinguished family background for his beatification in 1741. All citations in this article are taken from the text edited by Ayerbe-Chaux.

³ Pedro I was murdered in 1369 by his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, the son of Leonor de Guzmán, Alfonso XI's mistress. *Memorias* relates what happened to a powerful family that had not supported the new king: Martín López was executed, and his family was imprisoned in Seville. Leonor López and her husband survived and were ordered released from prison after nine years by the king's testament (1379). Their property, however, remained confiscated despite the fact that she eventually became a favorite of Enrique III's queen, Catalina. *Memorias* breaks off about 1400, just before she gained the queen's favor, but the original was probably written between 1409, when she founded her funerary chapel, and 1428, when she signed her last will, and covered some of the years after 1400. She was buried at San Pablo de Córdoba in 1430.

the extent to which *Memorias* is similar to other testimonials of the miracles of a particular Virgin, even though the narrative clearly states that it is an account of miracles performed on López de Córdoba's behalf, miracles that she hopes will be remembered after her death ('sepan la relación de todos mis echos é milagros que la Virgen Santa Maria, me mostro, y es mi intención que quede por memoria' [Ayerbe-Chaux 16]).⁴

Accounts of miracles associated with an image of the Virgin in a particular church or sanctuary were often gathered into 'miracle books' containing depositions from witnesses who testify before a notary or a priest to the authenticity of the miracle(s) associated with the image. Such compilations were kept in many church archives, including nine volumes of miracles of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Sarrablo Aguares, Crémoux). With the exception of a few miracle accounts about the Virgin of Guadalupe that are contemporaneous with *Memorias*, most of them date from the sixteenth century or after. Nevertheless, they build on a less regulated and structured older practice of individual testimonials written about particular Christian images (Christian chap. 1). I believe that *Memorias* is one of these accounts.

Almost all of the older miracle texts reveal a writer who records the event. Their high degree of orality points to the narrating author's lack of education. López de Córdoba was nine when she was imprisoned and would have received only the most rudimentary instruction, if any, during that time. She would not have received any additional education after she was released at seventeen. Her ability to compose in writing may therefore have been limited. Yet this in no way indicates that she was unable to compose her own story orally. Her first-person voice overwhelms the notary, whose presence is noted through the document's introductory formulas and a brief reference to her having commanded that the work be written. The dominance of a single textual narrator is one of two main features that separate *Memorias* from other written testimonials. The other is that half of its narrative concerns events that happened before the miracles associated with the Virgin began.

This essay examines how *Memorias* is similar to other testimonials in terms of its narrative, yet differs from them in the way it marshalls historical events. It shows how the *Memorias* narrator uses three objects – the *cadena* and *collares de oro* in the early part of the story and the Rosary or chain of prayers in the second part – to engage the reader in an implicit discussion of temporal injustice and divine mercy. The imagery transforms the narrative into an account that is more than a simple testimonial to the Virgin that was intended to be housed at San Pablo de Córdoba.⁵

⁴ *Memorias* has been considered to be a memorial presented to the king and queen in 1396 when they passed through Córdoba in order to regain royal favor (Amasuno) or a text written in 1412, when the writer lost the favor of the queen (Severin 643–4). However, it could have easily been written about 1428 as a testimonial for San Pablo, when she began to put her affairs in order.

⁵ The similarity between *cadena de hierro* and *collares de oro* as underlying themes has been noticed by Gómez Sierra in passing (119–20), as an example of the *Memorias*' narrative continuity.

Memorias: Martín López and his family

Doña Leonor López de Córdoba had the misfortune to be born shortly before Enrique II of Trastámara assassinated his half-brother, Pedro I, in 1369 and established a new dynasty on the throne of Castile. Loyalists paid a heavy price for their fidelity to the former king. Her father, Martín López, one of Pedro I's main supporters, fortified himself in the city of Carmona and resisted the usurper while he negotiated a capitulation. He surrendered Carmona's fortress to Enrique II in 1371, thinking that the articles of capitulation he had signed guaranteed the safety of the *infantas* under his protection, himself, and his children and their property.⁶ However, Enrique II did not honor the agreement, and Martín López was executed.

Leonor López de Córdoba reports how, on his way to his beheading in Seville's Plaza de San Francisco, Martín López met Beltrán de Clequín (Bertrand du Guesclin), who had betrayed Pedro I into the hands of his half-brother, Enrique. Clequín said: '*Señor Maestre no os decia Yo que vuestras andanzas havian de parar en esto?*' To which Martín López answered: '*Mas vale morir como Leal, como Yo lo he echo, que no vivir como vos vivis, haviendo sido Traydor*' (Ayerbe-Chaux 18). Of course, it was too dangerous for her to write anything that would be viewed as unfavorable to the new king, but she could ascribe such a statement to an underling now dead, and trust that any contemporary reader of *Memorias* would understand her point: treason had vanquished loyalty.⁷

The execution of Martín López, Leonor implies, calls into question Enrique II's justice and contradicts the promise of safe-keeping made by the Constable of Castile on the king's behalf. Martín López was treated as having committed a *crimen atroz*, which foreshortened his procedural rights and extended the punishment to his family, as accomplices in the condemned's *infamia*.⁸

Of crimes that are labeled *enormes* and *atroces*, Clavero writes: 'La descendencia quedaba infamada, en aquel estado de muerte civil por el que ni siquiera

⁶ The *infantas* were already in the custody of the English. Martín López had under his care two of Pedro's illegitimate sons, Sancho and Pedro. As Curry (110–11) points out, this inaccuracy may be due to the fact that one of the *infantas* supposed to have been under the care of Martín López was Queen Catalina's mother. Leonor may have used *Memorias* to make Martín López appear as protector of the royal line of Pedro and thus ingratiate herself to the queen. She also claims that the Constable of Castile, who had signed the surrender terms for Enrique II, was so offended by the execution that he left court, never to return. However, we know that the king had taken charge of the siege and that the articles of capitulation were actually signed by the master of Santiago, Fernando Ossores.

⁷ Although López de Córdoba never criticizes Enrique II directly, her narrative reveals a preference for legitimacy by constantly referring to right actions and to the recognition of the right *señor*. She had to contend with the fact that some of Martín López' property was given to other members of her family. In 1369, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba received the lordship of Aguilar from Enrique II. López de Córdoba implies that her father was lord of Aguilar (Ayerbe-Chaux 16, 24).

⁸ Pardons did not completely exonerate *infamados* (Masferrer Domingo 308–11, 360). Many families shunned association with an *infamado*, even after the sentence was lifted, fearing to be so labeled themselves.

se tenía acceso a un juez. A ella también le afectaba una accesoría como la de confiscación total de bienes particulares y familiares. El honor que quedaba en entredicho no sólo era el individual del condenado. Todo un apellido, o todo un linaje, resultaba reo' (77).⁹ López de Córdoba describes the consequences of a sentence of *infamia* for the immediate family: the total expropriation of their goods and houses, and the condemnation of the family to a life in chains in the Atarazanas (shipyards) of Seville.

Memorias: Cadenas de hierro

nuestros Maridos tenian sesenta libras de hierro cada vno en los pies, y mi hermano Don Lope Lopez tenia una Cadena encima delos hierros que havia setenta eslabones (Ayerbe-Chaux 18–19)

Civil wars and wars against the infidel generated a large number of captives who were housed in the few large buildings available, like the Atarazanas, but these large open spaces had been designed for boat-building, not for the purpose of holding inmates. Consequently, the prisoners, whether nobles or commoners, Moors or Christians, had to wear chains to prevent them from escaping.

The great majority of these prisoners were Muslims captured in war, and their fate was to remain in chains until sold as slaves. However, that was not the expected behavior of Christians towards fellow Christians (Russell 164n3). At a minimum, according to López de Córdoba, Christians removed the chains from Christian prisoners just before their death, to symbolize the release of their spirit into the hands of God. Therefore, it was a further wrong that the men of her family had to wear their chains until they were dead, like Moorish prisoners ('á todos los sacaban á desherrar al Desherradero como Moros, despues de muertos' [Ayerbe-Chaux 19]).

As if to make the point clearer, López de Córdoba plaintively describes her young brother, who pleaded in vain with the *alcalde* of the Atarazanas to relieve him of his chains as he lay dying. The *alcalde* responded that if it were up to him, he would do so, but he could not:

á el triste de mi hermano Don Lope Lopez pidió ál Alcayde que nos tenian, que dixesen á Gonzalo Ruiz Bolante *que nos hacia mucha Charidad, é mucha honrra por amor de Dios: Señor Alcayde sea agora vuestra merced que me tirase estos hierros en antes que salga mi anima, é que no me sacasen al desherradero;*

⁹ About the effects of the *pena de infamia* on the family and the consequences of the dishonor it brought, see Masferrer Domingo, especially 273–9, 293–4, 300–1, 345–7; also Ramos Vázquez and Tomás y Valiente. It may also explain why López de Córdoba prefers to state that her father was beheaded, while a version ascribed to López de Ayala maintains that he was treated like a traitor or sodomite: his hands and feet were cut off prior to his being burned for a crime of *lèse-majesté*. The story appears as a note to the eighteenth-century edition of López de Ayala's *Crónica del rey don Enrique Segundo* (22n3), but it is believed to be derived from Ayala. The penalty described in the note was appropriate for a crime of *lèse-majesté*.

á el (dijole) como á moro, si en mi fuese yo lo faria; y en esto salió su anima en mis manos; que havia El un año mas que Yo, é sacaronlo en una tabla ál Desherradero como á Moro, é enterraronlo con mis hermanos, é con mis hermanas, é con mis Cuñados en San Francisco de Sevilla (Ayerbe-Chaux 19)

The implication is that the sentence is being carried out according to Enrique II's orders. The male members of the family were taken to the *desherradero* to be unchained only after death in a further public display that seems to have been part of the sentence. López de Córdoba stresses the cruelty and suffering that the men in her family had to endure, wearing chains that weighed sixty pounds each, even though they were nobles of the highest rank and not deserving of or accustomed to such treatment. She presents the facts as something out of the ordinary, thereby assigning a symbolic association to the chains.

Given the ever-present danger of capture and enslavement by Moors and the widespread belief that Muslims and Jews belonged to the forces of the Devil, the wearing of chains was a common metaphor for the bondage of men to God or to the Devil.¹⁰ Berceo, for example, treats the *casulla* granted by the Virgin to San Ildefonso as a metaphoric *cadena* that can choke Siagro: ('prísoli la garganta como cadena dura, / fue luego enfogado por la su grand locura' [*Milagros* 72cd]) and uses it as a metaphor for all those who swear fealty to the Devil ('Tal es sancta Maria qe es de gracia plena, / por servicio da Gloria, por deservíçio pena; / a los bonos da trigo, a los malos avena, / los unos van en Gloria, los otros en cadena' [*Milagros* 374]).¹¹ In this context, the chains borne by López de Córdoba's relatives as part of their sentence underline the injustice done to them.

Chains frequently ended up as *ex-voto* objects commemorating the miracle of liberation, not imprisonment.¹² Bautier, who has studied the *ex-votos* given to

¹⁰ Narrative and pictorial illustrations of this bondage of Jews and Moors to the Devil are common. For example, Moors are a part of the forces of the Devil in the *Libro de Fernán Gónçalez*, e.g., stanzas 83–7, 469–72; Berceo's miracle xxiv has a Jew lead the Christian Teófilo to the court of the Devil (*Milagros* 721–42); and an image from a manuscript of Alonso de Espina's *Fortalitium Fidei* kept at the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma shows the castle of Faith under assault by devils, Jews, Muslims and other heretics (Yarza Luaces 127). Berceo's texts, here and throughout, are quoted by strophe number without indication of the caesura pause.

¹¹ Further examples of chains abound: e.g., Berceo, *Santo Domingo de Silos* 151, 355; and as imprisonment by the infidel, e.g., Berceo, *Santo Domingo de Silos* 646–7. Chains appear as a metaphor of submission to the Devil in many other authors. Juan Ruiz, for example, uses it to represent vassalage to the Devil (strophe 208).

¹² In the current use of the term, *ex-voto* designates a representational object or painting hung close to an image of the Virgin, saint or Christ following a miracle or in fulfillment of a vow (Bautier 239). The term *ex-voto* appears in written texts that accompany some of the paintings and has given its name both to the object and pictorial donation (Cobos Ruiz de Adana and Luque-Romero Alborno 13; Rodríguez Becerra and Vázquez Soto, González Modina). However, narrative testimonials that are textual in nature, and not necessarily placed close to an image, share the same function as these pictorial or representational *ex-votos* and, in an age less concerned with classification, may have been considered similar. Sigal (25) has found evidence of eleven prisoners' chains offered as *ex-votos* in Provence during the Middle Ages, together with images of chains in wax.

churches prior to 1200, found mention of twenty-two sanctuaries along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela that probably displayed chains as *ex-votos* of the early struggles against Islam, but the same practice continued to be observed centuries later.¹³ During the war of Granada, for example, Queen Isabel of Castile ordered that the chains of Christian prisoners liberated from Moorish jails, in the taking of Málaga and Almería in the late 1480s, decorate the outside walls of the San Juan de los Reyes – or ‘de las Cadenas’ – in Toledo, as visible reminders that the suffering of Christians at the hands of the infidel would come to an end through God’s mercy and justice.¹⁴

López de Córdoba’s brothers-in-law, however, were never released from their chains of iron and wore them until they died from the plague. At that time the chains were taken off and reused on other prisoners. They never became *ex-votos*. Therefore, instead of becoming signs of liberation, they signal the depth of the family’s unwarranted disgrace at the hands of Enrique II. There is a second set of chains, however, that makes their disgrace at the hands of the king an offense against the Virgin, because it speaks of the frustration of a religious vow.

Memorias: Cadenas or Collares de oro

mis Cuñados trayan sendos Collares de Oro ála Garganta, que eran cinco hermanos, é se pusieron aquellos Collares en Santa Maria de Guadalupe, é prometieron deno quitarselos, hasta que todos cinco se los tirasen á Santa Maria, que por sus pecados el Vno murió en Sevilla, y el Otro en Lisbona, y el Otro en Ynglaterra, é asi murieron derramados, é se mandaron enterrar con sus Collares de Oro, é los frayles con la codicia despues de enterrado le quitaron el Collar. (Ayerbe-Chaux 19)

As the quote reports, López de Córdoba’s brothers-in-law, Fernán Rodríguez de Aza, Ruy García de Aza and Lope Rodríguez de Aza, all wore *collares de oro*, donned in happier times in the church of Santa María de Guadalupe.¹⁵ They had vowed not to take them off until death, when they were to be given to the Virgin of Guadalupe as *ex-votos*. They probably donned these chains at the time of their knighting: *collares de oro* were a visible distinctive sign of knighthood.

¹³ In many other churches like Guadalupe, they were melted down and used for other purposes (Bautier 266–7).

¹⁴ The chains that decorated San Juan de los Reyes had the same function as *ex-votos*: to visibly remind the faithful of the power of God. Another famous chain is that which bound St Peter in Rome. It was kept as a relic in the fifth-century Basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli (Saint Peter in Chains).

¹⁵ For the importance of Guadalupe, see Christian (chap. 1) and Crémoux. The Virgin of Guadalupe emerged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a special protector of prisoners. The *Libro de milagros* contains details about the lives of captives, their experiences during captivity, their release, and subsequent trip to Guadalupe, where they often hung their irons as votive offerings (González Modina).

It is commonly recorded that during the vigil and mass held during the investiture of knighthood, most knights were fitted with golden spurs and girded with a gold-hilted sword. Not so well documented is the practice of donning gold collars. Fernando Mexía, in his *Nobiliario vero*, devotes several paragraphs to explaining that knights symbolized their willingness to risk their lives and be more excellent, generous and noble than all others by wearing *collares* or *cade-nas de oro*: ‘por que los caualleros podían o devían traer cadenas o collares de oro o espuelas o las guarniçiones delas espadas doradas e no ninguno otro delos otros onbres defensores o combatientes’ (Lib. II, pun. iii, Conclu. iii).¹⁶ Mexía calls on the authority of Vegetius, who said that formerly knights were distinguished by a special mark branded into their arm, but:

razon fue que fuesen señalados e onorrif[i]cados por la cosa mas noble que sea a çerca de los metales. Pues como el oro fuese el mas noble metal [. . .] conuino que se buscasse cosa por la qual se conosçiese, la qual fue quel cauallero troxese espuelas doradas e espada guarnida de oro o dorada. Otrosi, cadena o collar y anillo de oro. E esto era mas vsado en tienpo de guerra que, puesto quelos caualleros troxesen mantos de puntas e conel boton enel onbro, la qual era señal de cauallero, las mas vezes, enel tienpo delas batallas o delas armas, escusavasse el manto. E desta causa trayan la cadena al cuello o collar.

(Lib. II, pun. iii, Conclu. iii.)¹⁷

According to Mexía, *cade-nas* or *collares de oro* were added to the required sword and *espuelas de oro* in dubbing knights belonging to families of means.¹⁸ Other knights of more limited fortune had to use cheaper *espuelas de oro*. Therefore, the *collares de oro* of López de Córdoba’s brothers-in-law are as much signs of their social prominence as of their knighthood.¹⁹ The *collares de oro*

¹⁶ The passages from Mexía are transcribed using italic font to indicate expansion of abbreviations, editorially adding punctuation as needed, and representing the long *j* as *s*. The citations can also be read in Heusch (163).

¹⁷ In case his disquisition on chains might be considered devoid of actual backing in Castilian legislation, Mexía also cites the *Ordenamiento de Burgos*: ‘Enel ordenamiento de burgos fecho por el rrey don juan, dize: “Los caualleros deuen ser mucho onrrados por tres rrazones. La vna, por rrazon de su linaje; la segunda por su bondad; la terçera, por la onrra que dellos viene. E, por ende, los rreyes los deuen mucho onrrar, por lo qual los rreyes ante pasados ordenaron ensus leyes como fuesen onrrados entre los onbres que no eran caualleros ensus reynos, enel traer desus paños e de sus armas e de sus causalgaduras. Por ende, ordenamos e mandamos que todos los caualleros, çirimonial mente armados, que puedan traer paños de oro o dorado enlas vestiduras e en las diuisas e en las vandas e enlas sillas, en los frenos e enlas armas. Otrosí cadenas o collares de oro al cuello”’ (Lib. II, pun. iii, Conclu. iii).

¹⁸ For a general consideration on the nature of the metals, see St Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, Liber 16 (‘De lapidus et metallis’), chapter 18 (‘De auro’) and chapter 21 (‘De ferro’). While we should not take Mexía’s restriction of the use of gold chains to knights as an absolute fact, he is voicing the same desire as that found in sumptuary laws: to ensure that dress and ornamentation reflect social status. In practice, it was ignored.

¹⁹ The wearing of *collares* to distinguish brothers also seems to have been part of folklore. Brothers wearing similar *collares*, for example, appear in the story of the *Caballero del cisne*. Variants of the story have been studied of late by Sanz Querol (see in particular 72–4).

symbolize ideals of loyalty and, in this case, devotion to the Virgin, to whom they are promised. They oppose the symbols of the *cadena de hierro* that bind captives and that should be removed from Christians before their moment of death to symbolize the release of their spirit. The golden chains are stolen by greedy friars who see only their monetary value, and their symbolic function is frustrated in a manner similar to that of the chains of iron.²⁰ Through chains, López de Córdoba shows the world as topsy-turvy.²¹ Christians are treated like Moors; and false Christians, like the friars, do not keep their vows.²²

Memorias: The ‘milagros que la Virgen Santa Maria, me mostro’ and the Rosary

After the death of most family members from the plague, López de Córdoba and her husband are released from prison during the general pardon that followed the death of Enrique II in 1379. Free to return to Córdoba, Leonor settled in her aunt's house in the parish of San Nicolás de la Villa, which included the church of San Hipólito. Under normal circumstances, she would have been under the protection of a husband or a religious order. Neither happens. For a while, she entertains the thought of entering a convent but cannot when her husband reappears, penniless. Instead, she has to rely on the charity of her aunt to survive. But she also hopes to prosper, and to this end actively prays to the Virgin for the restoration of her honor through the acquisition of her own house.

Prayer may seem an activity particularly suited for women, but López de Córdoba and her contemporaries believed that prayer was a weapon that could be wielded like the arms of a knight. Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, who led a very successful crusade in North Africa, was widely thought to have

²⁰ Gold chains could also serve as legal tender, since debts could be repaid by a number of links assessed by their weight and purity.

²¹ As a metaphor, chains are used to express the proper relationship of things. For example, the Great Chain of Being arranges creation into ranks: lords are ‘chained’ to vassals by mutual services; bodies are ‘chained’ to souls; and patristic commentaries are ‘chained’ to the Gospels. Berceo uses ‘sancta cantilena’ as the equivalent of chains that link this world to heaven (*Milagros* 277; see also below).

²² The narrative is somewhat confusing at this point. López de Córdoba points out that the five Aza brothers dedicated their golden necklaces to Mary in the monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe, but she is quite clear that one died in Seville, one in Portugal and one in England. Two are unaccounted for and may have been imprisoned with her. The bodies and necklaces of all the Aza brothers were either brought back for burial at Santa María de Guadalupe or buried where they died; however, those who died in the Atarazanas were first buried at the church of San Francisco in Seville. Their remains were eventually taken from Seville to Santa María de Guadalupe. López de Córdoba may have found out that one or more of their necklaces were missing at their reburial.

won through the force of his prayers and miracles, because he did not wield arms ('Y él, entretanto, con mucho cuydado, alcadas [*sic*] sus manos orando a nuestro Señor, peleava más que todos' [Hernández González 49]). The belief in the divine power of prayer was deeply imbedded in the consciousness of medieval society.

To achieve her goals López de Córdoba prays to two favored images of the Virgin in Córdoba: 'Santa Maria de Belen' and 'Santa Maria el Amortecida' (Ayerbe-Chaux 21–2). If the boon she asks for in the prayer is granted, it will publicly testify to the power of the Virgin. To say her prayers, she probably carried with her another type of chain that distinguished the dress of women at the time and continues the metaphoric development of the discourse on cruelty and justice: a rosary.

As early as the twelfth century, monks and nuns recited the Ave Maria Rosary in multiples of 50, 100 or 150. Eventually, the Ave Marias became separated by short meditative prayers on the joys or sorrows of the Virgin or the passion of Christ, and were often accompanied by genuflections (Winston 620). Each bead of the rosary counted as one prayer and metaphorically represented a rose. A sequence of Ave prayers constituted a *zapel* (chaplet) or *rosarium*, in which the beads made up a chain or a garland of roses (Winston 621).²³ Among the promises associated with the Rosary is that all who recite it will be granted their wish or be aided by Mary in their hour of need.

López de Córdoba prays for three miracles: 1) that she be granted the right to open a small door that will allow her to go to her aunt's house and sit at her table unnoticed by passers-by; 2) that she be given property; and 3) that the life of her *converso* stepson be spared when he contracts the plague.²⁴ All of these prayers to the Virgin are answered.

The first time she prays 'á la Virgen Santa Maria de Belen treinta dias, cada noche rezaba trescientas Aves Marias de Rodrillas [*sic*], para que pusiese en Corazon á mi Señora, que consintiese abrir un Postigo á sus Casas' (Ayerbe-Chaux 21). On the twenty-eighth day, she gets permission to open a small door that will keep her from revealing her poverty to strangers: 'y dos dias antes que acabase la Oracion, demande á la Señora mi tia que me dejase abrir aquel postigo, por que no viniesemos por la Calle á comer á su mesa, entre tantos Cavalleros que havia en Cordoba; é la su merced me respondió le placia' (Ayerbe-Chaux 21).

Because of the opposition of some of her aunt's servants, permission to open the door is then withdrawn on the twenty-ninth day, when López de Córdoba is

²³ It is not unusual, however, to find references to rosaries of 12, 33, 63, 93, 165, etc. (Winston 631). Associated with the practice of reciting the Rosary are the 'Fifteen Promises of Mary', allegedly delivered to St Dominic, concerning its benefits. The Rosary spread quickly to all levels of society because of the benefits that it accrued. Although the Brotherhood of the Rosary does not coalesce until the fifteenth century, it builds on this older devotion of the Rosary prevalent in much of Europe.

²⁴ A miracle could be any event that seemed to alter the normal run of events (Talavera fol. 457v, quoted in Crémoux 39), thus the rapid restoration of López de Córdoba's fortune in light of what had happened could be deemed miraculous by her.

about to finish the last of her daily 300 prayers to the Virgin. In compensation, the Virgin grants her a vision as she is walking by the church of San Hipólito on the thirtieth day, at daybreak, in order to finish her prayers: ‘vi en la pared delos Corrales un arco mui grande, y mui alto, é que entraba yo por alli, y cojia flores dela Sierra, y veia mui gran Cielo, y en esto desperte, é obe esperanza enla Virgen Santa Maria que me daria casa’ [Ayerbe-Chaux 21]). Instead of a *postigo*, she has the opportunity to acquire the enclosed lots where she saw herself gathering flowers in the vision, open a *puerta* – a main door – leading to two *palacios*, a *huerta* and ‘dos o tres Casas para servicio’ (Ayerbe-Chaux 22), thanks to the munificence of her aunt, who is again moved by the intercession of the Virgin.²⁵

López de Córdoba never mentions that she uses a rosary, but the way that she mixes the Ave Maria with other prayers is characteristic, and the only way to keep track of the large number of prayers she repeats would be with a rosary. This possibility is confirmed when she goes before the image of ‘Santa Maria el Amortecida, que es en la Orden de San Pablo de Cordoba’ to pray one of the standard rosaries: ‘é rezabale 63 vezes esta Oracion que se sigue con 66 Aves Marias, en reverencia delos 66 años que Ella vivió con amargura en este mundo, por que Ella me diese Casa, é la me dió Casa, y Casas, por su misericordia, mejores que Yo las merecia’ (Ayerbe-Chaux 22). The prayer coincides with one of the typical popular devotions of the Rosary during the Middle Ages, which consisted in reciting an Ave for each year of the Virgin’s life. The Beguines of Ghent, for example, were ordered to pray special Rosaries that included meditations on the life of the Virgin, with one Ave for each of her sixty-six years of life (Winston 631). López de Córdoba alternates the sixty-six Aves with a special prayer she has heard from a nun: ‘Madre Santa Maria – de Vos gran dolor havia vuestro fijo bien criado – vistelo atormentado con su gran tribulacion, amorteciose vos el Corazon, despues de su tribulacion, puso vos consolacion, ponedle vos á mi Señora, que sabeis mi dolor’ (Ayerbe-Chaux 22).

Another instance of answered prayer occurs later, when some of the writer’s children fall victim to the plague. She attributes the fact that she and her *converso* stepson are spared to the power of a particularly efficacious prayer that she recites 7,000 times: ‘Piadoso fijo dela Virgen, venzate piedad’ (Ayerbe-Chaux 23), although her eldest son, Juan Fernández de Hinestrosa, dies.²⁶

Conclusion

Memorias opens with a formulaic invocation to the Trinity and the Virgin, and is described as a first-person testimony (‘es verdad que lo vi, y pasó por mi, [. . .]

²⁵ A *postigo* is any small door distinct from the main door, or *puerta*. It gave access to back and sides of a house and its *huerta*. It could also connect two adjoining houses or *huertas*, as must have been the case here.

²⁶ See Cabrera Sánchez for a discussion of the descendants of Leonor López de Córdoba.

mandelo escrever'), done for the purpose of testifying the truth ('por que todas las Criaturas que estubieren en tribulación sean ciertos') in a public manner ('y por que quien lo oyere sepan la relación [. . .] y es mi intención que quede por memoria'), of the deeds and miracles that the Virgin has performed on López de Córdoba's behalf ('todos mis echos é milagros que la Virgen Santa Maria me mostró') (Ayerbe-Chaux 16). It is clear from the author's own words that *Memorias* was written principally to testify to these with the intention that it survive her death.

Although San Hipólito has received the lion's share of critical attention, because it is the site of the writer's vision forecasting her coming good fortune, there is a clear preference for San Pablo. San Hipólito was a recent foundation, dating from 1343 (Jordano Barbudo 382), and still under construction at the time of *Memorias* (Ortí Belmonte 295). Its abbots sell the *corrales* to her aunt, Mencía Carrillo, because they need money for its construction. Most importantly, while not belonging to an order, San Hipólito was the burial place of Alfonso XI – the Trastámara progenitor – and became the burial place of the lords of Aguilar in 1375, a title then held by her aunt's son, whom she felt benefited from the sequestration of Martín López' properties.²⁷ Clearly, her negative impression of the friars of San Francisco de Sevilla, who steal the golden chains of her brothers-in-law, is echoed in her views of the clerics of San Hipólito, who look at her and her family with suspicion ('é á los Abades les pesó que me entregasen el dicho Solar, por que Yo era de grande Linage, y que mis hijos serian Grandes, y Ellos eran Abades, y que no havian menester Grandes Cavalleros cabe si' [Ayerbe-Chaux 22]).²⁸

San Pablo, on the other hand, is an older establishment than San Hipólito. It was built by the Dominicans immediately after the reconquest in 1236. At San Pablo, López de Córdoba tells us, she prays to 'Santa Maria el Amortecida,' before she has the vision about the *corrales* at San Hipólito. By this time, San Pablo may also have contained a chapel known as 'Nuestra Señora de Belén' (Jordano Barbudo 212–13) and, therefore, the image she identifies in the text as 'Santa María de Belén', without saying where it is located, may be linked to San Pablo. Finally, in San Pablo, she built the funerary chapel known as the *capilla del rosario* in 1409 (González de Fauve 24–5, Jordano Barbudo 163) to serve as her family's funerary chapel and to house the remains of Martín López. It may have been so named because of her particular devotion to the Rosary.²⁹

²⁷ She writes 'y le suplique á mi Señora tia Doña Mencia Carrillo, que fuese servida de comprar aquel sitio para mi, pues havia diez y siete años que estaba en su Compañia, y me las compró; dolas con la condicion, que señalava, que se hiciese vna Capellania impuesta sobre las dichas Casas por el alma del Señor Rey Don Alfonso que hizo aquella Iglesia al nombre de Sant Hipolito, por que nació El, á tal dia, tienen estos Capellanes otras seis ó siete Capellanas de Don Gonzalo Fernandez, Marido dela dicha Señora mi tia, e Don Alfonso Fernandez Señor de Aguilar, e del Mariscal sus fijos' (Ayerbe Chaux 21).

²⁸ It is interesting to note that even at this early date there might have been discomfort over an emerging association between the Franciscans and the Trastámara.

²⁹ The Dominicans were the great promoters of the Rosary and those of San Pablo made a special one from the seeds of a flower they called *lágrimas de Moisés*, which they raised in their *huerto*.

Memorias may have been intended from the first as a testimonial to the miracles of San Pablo's Virgins attested to by López de Córdoba's own version of her family's history.³⁰ However, her testimony is more than a simple relation of miracles. It interweaves the themes of fortune and misfortune in a manner that relies on the metaphoric interpretation of chains of iron and gold, as symbols of secular cruelty and injustice, and the sequence of Rosary prayers as symbols of divine justice.

Two of these chains are associated with men – *cadena de hierro* and *collares de oro* – and see their ultimate function frustrated. The chain of prayers – or Rosary – is the only one that succeeds, showing how the miraculous intercession of the Virgin can contradict earthly power. Thus, good fortune comes to López de Córdoba through prayer, what Berceo called the 'sancta cantilena' of the Ave Maria, which is akin to the links of a chain that binds people to heaven and which contrasts to the 'mala cadena' that binds them to the Devil: 'diziéli tres palabras: "Ave gratia plena": / la boca por qui esse tan sancta cantilena / non merecié yazer en tan mala cadena' (*Milagros* 277).³¹ It is only through the employment of these metaphors that *Memorias* comments on the nature of royal justice.

Chroniclers in the employment of Enrique II ascribed to Pedro I the usual failings that characterized bad kings: he was a tyrant who favored Jews and Moors; he toyed with heresy; he was of questionable parentage; his sexual orientation was indeterminate; and he turned against his own family and followers. The picture they give of Pedro I is of a man devoid of even the simplest kindness to his family. For these reasons, he was given the epithet 'el Cruel'.³² Yet in *Memorias*, Pedro is the source of the *mercedes* that Martín López received ('le hizo merced de darle la Encomienda de Alcantara, [. . .] luego le hizo Maestre de Alcantara, y á la postre de Calatrava [Ayerbe-Chaux 16]), whose indirect recipient is Leonor, and the source of the wealth of her husband.

Enrique II, on the other hand, was portrayed by the same chroniclers as bringing Castile back to a just course. He was described as the true heir of Alfonso XI: an exemplary king who did not favor Jews or Muslims, whose policies agreed with those members of the nobility who were disaffected by Pedro's centralizing policies. However, by dwelling on the unjust nature of Enrique's punishment (i.e., the harshness of the iron chains that the prisoners wore; the powerlessness of the chains of gold worn by her brothers-in-law; and the thaumaturgic power of her prayer to effect the intercession of the Virgin), López de

³⁰ The missing part of *Memorias* might have commented on further miracles: how López de Córdoba regained the Queen's favor and how she was favored by the Virgin with other property near San Pablo once she regained her status. The property of the Hinestrosas has been studied by Cabrera Sánchez.

³¹ A *cantilena* is a brief song, often monotonous in its regularity and easily comparable to the links in a chain. Berceo, of course, refers to plain chant.

³² Baraz, who has studied the concept of cruelty in the Middle Ages, points out that the application of the adjective *cruel* was an important attribute of tyranny, and tyranny was the only justification for regicide (132).

Córdoba implies that whatever the failings of Pedro I, it was Enrique II who was at fault for the gruesome murder of his half-brother with his own hands and the persecution of his supporters. It was Enrique who imposed the chains that the male members of her family wore until their death and who made their punishment as harsh as that imposed on Moors.³³ López de Córdoba's testimonial narrative intimates that it was Enrique II who was the usurper, regicide and tyrant, who brought woe upon the family. Only through miracles associated with a higher sacred and merciful power, symbolized by the chain of prayers of the Rosary, is justice restored to those injured by secular injustice.

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³³ Most died from the bubonic plague that struck Seville in 1374 (Ladero Quesada 222).

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**Part 2: CONTACT AND CONFLICT:
PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY AND CULTURE**

Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?

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Spanish history, like a good many others, has often been made the subject of a Grand Narrative of national identity, historical purpose and religious mission. Aspects of this understanding have varied, most notably between liberal nationalists and Catholic traditionalists during the nineteenth century, but for long it constituted a sort of Spanish ideology of the past. The Grand Narrative first began to be questioned in the mood of pessimism that gripped a part of the thinking of late-nineteenth-century Spain, even before 1898. Thoroughly rehabilitated and restored by Franco, it began to be yet more decisively rejected in the era of democratization and federalization that followed the dictatorship. The political and ideological deconstruction of the Spanish nation which this produced has in turn provoked an intense debate during the past fifteen years – probably the most intense ongoing debate in any Western country – which shows no sign of abating.

In the 1970s critics held that the formation of historically continuous Spanish institutions in the kingdom of Asturias during the generation immediately following the Muslim conquest involved a major paradox. The most succinct statement of this position was made by Barbero and Vigil Pascual in the small study they published in 1974, *Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista*. This work appeared on the eve of the democratization of Spain, and for this particular topic represented a climax of the deconstructive trend of interpreting Spanish history, which had begun in the late nineteenth century. It posited a paradox, not to say contradiction, in the origins of the resistance nucleus of Asturias during approximately the second quarter of the eighth century.

The paradox was supposed to be twofold. On the one hand, independent Hispano-Christian society first arose in what was heretofore the least Romanized and Christianized part of the Peninsula, with the exception of the Basque region. On the other, the neo-Gothic ideal which emerged as a kind of political doctrine among the Asturian elite by the late ninth century was held to have had the scantiest basis in Asturias itself, for the greater Asturian–Cantabrian region, as putatively one of the least Romanized districts, was said to have possessed little or no Visigothic political structure or identity. Instead, it was allegedly the home of semi-primitive autochthonous peoples, whose society was scarcely more than

tribal in structure, and who had had little to do with the Visigothic state at all, having never been effectively conquered or integrated by it.

Though some historians rejected this general interpretation, or at least the most extreme statements of it, it came to be widely held after the death of Franco, fitting very nicely the mood of diversity and pluralism that dominated the years of Spanish democratization. During this era the Grand Narrative of Spanish history, which found its earliest expression in the Asturias of Alfonso el Casto and reached its heights in nineteenth-century Spanish nationalism – both liberal and Catholic – and in the doctrines of the Franco regime, was rejected politically and broadly deconstructed historiographically. Moreover, this reinterpretation could not easily be challenged by new historical research, for the sources on the last years of Visigothic history are the weakest of the entire Visigothic period, while the principal documentary materials for the history of the kingdom of Asturias consist of only three chronicles.

First, however, any re-examination of the roots of Asturian history must also be studied in the light of the Visigothic state which preceded it. For nearly a hundred years, the latter had been viewed by most commentators as a semi-incoherent failure, whose sudden downfall merely reflected its internal social and political divisions and general decadence, so that its ruin became almost inevitable. The achievements and influence of its cultural superstar, Saint Isidore of Seville, were seen as a unique exception. More recently, however, historians have viewed such an attitude as having its origins, at least in part, in *noventay-ochoista* concepts and in the cultural pessimism of Spain at the close of the nineteenth century.

For most of the twentieth century, the Visigothic state was given credit for establishing its sovereignty over a majority of the Peninsula and for recognizing official Catholic orthodoxy, but for little else. The Grand Narrative had given it credit for establishing the unity of Spain politically and religiously, but the tendency among twentieth-century historians was to see it as a decadent failure in social, cultural and spiritual terms. Disparagement of the Visigothic era was not new, of course. This had been begun by the French Carolingians as early as the end of the eighth century, the Carolingians being the first to propagate the myth that Roman culture had been almost totally submerged by barbarian invasions, introducing the concept, if not quite the term, of dark ages overtaking Western Europe after the collapse of Rome. The Merovingian world was dismissed as aimlessly violent and hopelessly ignorant (Brown 438–40), and for most of the twentieth century this same attitude had been extended to the Visigoths as well.

Research on the Visigoths enjoys a venerable tradition in Spain, for long centered on the history of law, on the one hand, and on Church history and patristics, on the other. In 1941, two years after the Civil War, García Gallo published a major one-hundred-page article in the first post-war number of the prestigious *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* which challenged the traditional understanding of the basis of Visigothic law. The major figures in this field, led by Hinojosa and later by Sánchez Albornoz (*Ensayos*), had emphasized the centrality of Germanic law, whereas García Gallo argued on the basis of considerable

evidence that, in general, what was known in Western Europe as Roman vulgar law was more nearly the Visigothic law codes.

The Visigoths had long been recognized as the most Romanized of the Germanic peoples, but García Gallo's reinterpretation considerably broadened understanding of the post-Roman character of certain Visigothic institutions, and to some degree has been substantiated by subsequent research. Moreover, coming as it did during the high triumphal phase of the *primer franquismo*, it accorded nicely with the dominant political ideology, which was pleased to alter the origins of the conventional Grand Narrative in a more directly Romano-Hispanic, southwest European, less Germanic, direction. The fact that the most recent research in Germany itself had underscored the persistence of Roman vulgar law in the various Germanic kingdoms only gave this greater credibility. At that stage the regime encouraged the friendliest of relations with Nazi Germany, but preferred a less Germanized version of the national Grand Narrative. In subsequent decades, much of Spanish research on the Visigoths followed this same channel, though Orlandis, the leading specialist of the second half of the twentieth century in this area, emphasized especially Church history and law.

A more positive re-evaluation of the Visigothic kingdom has, however, taken place in the last two decades of the century, most notably among non-Spanish scholars. The British Hispanist Collins came to accuse scholars in the field of what he termed 'virtually a "slave-mentality", induced by *a priori* acceptance of the necessary inferiority of Visigothic Spain' (204–5). A significant role has been played by Fontaine, the leading living authority on Isidore (see especially Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla* and *Culture et spiritualité*), though perhaps one of its first manifestations was the international conference on 'Visigothic Spain: New Approaches', held at University College, Dublin, in 1975 (edited by James). This re-evaluation gives the Visigoths credit for 'holding together for over a century the largest undivided political unit in seventh-century Europe' (Brown 366), for having extended political organization rather more thoroughly across the Peninsula's north than had earlier been thought, for building some degree of politico-administrative structure, and for having expelled the Byzantine invaders (Besga Marroquín, *Consideraciones*, and Menéndez Bueyes). It is now generally recognized that Visigothic Spain maintained a higher level of learning and culture than any other large part of Western Europe except for areas in Italy, and that the Visigothic clergy was generally the best educated in continental Western Europe, however relative such a qualification must be. The seventh-century legal codification of Recesvinto, known variously as *Forum iudicum* and *Liber iudiciorum*, and to medieval Castilians as the *Fuero juzgo*, was the most extensive and relatively sophisticated Western law code of its time, and in various ways was followed in all the Visigothic successor states – even in Catalonia – for some six centuries.

The close association between Church and State that existed from the late sixth century has long been emphasized, and earlier gave rise to erroneous judgments by foreign scholars about the roots of what was termed Spanish theocracy. That relationship was in fact rather more caesaropapist than theocratic, but there

is no doubt that the Church came to have a major role in the late Visigothic system, in a manner distinct from that of any other contemporary state. It did indeed have an important political and, later, administrative function, and the Councils of Toledo involved the Church in formulating a primitive kind of constitutional law, though the latter was often honored only in the breach.

Saint Isidore has long been recognized as the great Western polymath of his age, and indeed was the most influential Spanish scholar of all time. His *Etymologies* were still being laboriously copied out by hand seven centuries later. Though not a major theologian, he was the last great patristic figure of Late Antiquity. Isidore played a crucial political and ideological role as well, for he was the first to define fully the terms of the new Christian monarchy, an 'empire' – meaning a totally independent state – not beholden either to old Rome or to the Eastern Roman empire. In the Isidorean doctrine, the Visigothic monarchy represented a new kind of state and culture that sought, though it failed to achieve, a sort of synthesis of Western Christianity and classical culture, the latter, of course, subordinated to the former. He spoke of the new kingdom as the 'patria' of 'the peoples of all Hispania' now joined in the single 'patria of the Goths' (Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla* 284). Fontaine has labeled this 'the genesis of the Hispano-Gothic ideology', resulting in 'a kind of cultural nationalism' (*Culture et spiritualité* 38). Isidore's approach differed from that of his quasi-contemporary, Pope Gregory the Great, in that it was optimistic, whereas that of Gregory had been eschatological. Gregory had been relatively suspicious of profane culture, whereas Isidore sought to incorporate it as much as possible, seeking a *via media* between yesterday and today. Fontaine argues, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that he achieved 'an original and firm vision of universal history' (*Culture et spiritualité* 37), in which the Christian monarchy followed Rome in a positive line of historical development. This Regnum Gothorum was itself a precisely defined territory, in fact the first Christian and European state to be exactly defined geographically. None of its contemporaries had such clear definition, either in doctrine or in territory.

One of the most contested points in interpreting late Visigothic society is the issue of ethnic integration. It was for long assumed that one of the basic weaknesses of Visigothic society lay in the continuing division between Germanic Visigoths on the one hand and Hispano-Romans or other native population on the other. Some non-Spanish specialists during the past generation have come to discount this, seeing instead a broad fusion of elites, and perhaps of much of the ordinary population as well, after the ban on intermarriage was ended in the sixth century. The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 referred to the kingdom's population as part of a single 'gens et patria', just as the Seventh Council, thirteen years later, spoke of the kingdom as a whole as the 'gens et patria Gothorum' (Collins 244). After this there are no further references to a distinct 'Roman' population. The Gothic language itself ceased to be used, even by the highest Visigothic elite, though the majority of children for whom there is any record, even from more ordinary families, were given Gothic names.

This newer conclusion does not presume any sort of homogenization, much less any strong sense of harmony in the society at large. Not only did the

Visigothic high aristocracy maintain control of power, but by the late seventh century ordinary social tensions seem to have been increasing. Slavery persisted, there was more frequent complaint than ever about numerous runaway slaves, and severe economic concerns heightened pressures toward forms of enserfment for part of the free rural population. Specialists in Spain remain even more impressed by the severe internal problems, and more skeptical regarding the degree of ethnic fusion. This remains at best an open question, and one difficult to resolve due to the paucity of evidence.

Castro entitled one brief section of his *magnum opus* ‘Los visigodos no eran españoles’, and in the fullest sense this is doubtless correct, but they did create the first political ‘Spain’, and at least began the process of forming a specific Spanish society, even though that process was not complete by 700. Moreover, the Visigothic form of elite society – the military aristocracy – would remain the dominant elite form of Spain for the next millennium.

The great failure of the Visigothic state was political, for dissidence among the elite aristocratic families could rarely be controlled for more than a decade or so at a time. The efforts by Church leaders and others to constitutionalize the succession to the crown, creating the most elaborate succession mechanism of any Christian state at that time, failed. Consequently the key to the Islamic conquest – part of which was not technically a military conquest – lay in the conditions of civil war, which reappeared in 710–11. A century and a half earlier, in 554, one Visigothic faction which claimed the throne had called in Byzantine military assistance, leading in turn to the Byzantine occupation of the whole southeastern part of the Peninsula for three-quarters of a century before it was reconquered. The next reconquest would take much longer.

The Arab takeover of Spain was proportionately the fastest and most mysterious of all the extensive Islamic conquests of that era. Major parts of less-developed North Africa resisted for decades before they finally succumbed. Later, other Western kingdoms, such as those of the Merovingian French in the 730s or the Anglo-Saxons facing a different invading people in 1066, would resist more vigorously, though the latter was also overwhelmed by the Normans. The key presumably lay in the suicidal rivalries within the Visigothic elite. Once one faction of the latter was dislodged by defeat in two battles, most of the kingdom collapsed politically without further central resistance, thanks in part to the swift initiative of the new Arab leadership, just as would later be the case within the more centralized and more unified and sophisticated Anglo-Saxon state after defeat in the Battle of Hastings. Earlier protracted North African resistance to Islamic conquest had been partly predicated on decentralization.

As indicated earlier, some twentieth-century historians have tended to view the only successful resistance nucleus emerging in Asturias as something of a knee-jerk reaction by an early medieval variant of Hobsbawmian ‘primitive rebels’. This approach has been called the ‘indigenist theory’ of the origins of the kingdom of Asturias. Crude tribesmen who had supposedly never bowed the knee to the Visigoths soon took up resistance to the Arabs, but the only continuity was local and rather primitive, the people of Asturias exhibiting no very

sophisticated political, social, religious or ideological features, as summarized in the work of Barbero and Vigil Pascual.

Since the publication of that book, northern Spain has been the object of the most extensive archeological research the region has ever known. Beginning with the first major new research project initiated in Asturias in 1980, a new golden age of archeological research opened, and soon began to yield a rather different picture. Some of the results have been presented most cogently in the analytic synthesis published in 2001 by Menéndez Bueyes, *Reflexiones críticas sobre el origen del Reino de Asturias*. Recent archeological research has revealed a greater degree of Romanization and of apparent economic integration than had earlier been thought to be the case. Particularly in Asturias, though not so much in Cantabria proper, the structure of much of society, together with its economic organization, turns out not to have differed so much as frequently had been assumed. There is at least some evidence of relative political integration as well. The tentative new conclusion is that though Asturias was not so heavily Romanized as the major areas of the south and east, the region revealed more sophisticated structure and greater political integration in Visigothic times than had earlier been thought.

The revisionist interpretation finds considerable evidence of incorporation of all the north, with the intermittent exception of the Basque territory, in the Visigothic system, involving a more complex social structure, greater Christian identity and some degree of greater cultural sophistication. It concludes that there seem to have been three Visigothic duchies in the north – roughly Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria – parts of which, at least, provided the structure for leading and waging a successful revolt. One factor that all agree upon, of course, is the importance of geography, which made the mountains of the northwest the most difficult and remote terrain for foreign conquerors to deal with. Six centuries later, the Spanish would face a similar problem in the opposite corner of the Peninsula, where the conquest of Granada would constitute the longest, slowest and most costly phase of the Christian reconquest.

The conundrum of the initiation of serious Christian resistance in the least Christianized part of the Peninsula is scant problem for the revisionist interpretation, which finds more Christian structure there to begin with. Whatever Christian identity already existed was quickly reinforced by the beginning of what would become several waves of emigration of Christians from al-Andalus to the north, a process recognized by all historians, which would continue intermittently for four centuries, add considerable density to the northern population, and probably a good deal more to its religious identity and intensity. There is even limited evidence of the immigration of North African Christians as well. All this makes it rather less surprising that within a generation the resistance nucleus organized itself into a monarchy, that it soon developed contacts with other parts of Western Europe, and that it also developed a firm spirit, at least among the elites, of orthodox Roman Catholic religious identity, as this was understood in the late eighth century.

What remains quite controversial, however, is the precise role and weight of sectors of the old Visigothic elite and of ethnic Visigoths or semi-Visigoths in

this process. That they played a role of some importance is fairly obvious, but the old Germanic thesis held by historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which postulated an unusually heavy concentration of Visigoths in part of Old Castile prior to the Arab conquest, was seriously challenged during roughly the third quarter of the twentieth century.

A different approach has been taken by Besga Marroquín (*Orígenes*), who does not argue for any especial prior presence of Visigoths in the north, but rather, as is tersely indicated in one of the chronicles, for the prompt emigration to Asturias of a significant number of them to form a resistance nucleus, giving the early kingdom a heavily Gothic character. We have no evidence for what Sánchez Albornoz defines as the ideology of *neogoticismo* (*Investigaciones* 47) – so fundamental for subsequent Spanish doctrine and the eventual Grand Narrative – before the ninth century, and no historian would maintain that Asturias represented any sort of direct continuity of the old Visigothic order. The kingdom of Asturias was a completely new creation, and the exact ethnic balance among its founders is something that can probably never be determined. Nonetheless, the arguments of Besga Marroquín and others who emphasize the direct Visigothic influences in political and religious affairs, as in culture, cannot be very easily dismissed.

Whereas the Visigothic state, with its broad territorial domain, crumbled, the new kingdom of Asturias proved remarkably tough, resilient and successful in almost every respect. It repeatedly fought off a much larger, more powerful and sophisticated Muslim foe, and even added new territory at the expense of the latter. Rather than wilting under the contest, it gained population, partly thanks to immigration and to an astute royal repopulation policy. It created a new Church structure, reaffirmed its relations with the broader Latin Christian culture, produced at least one writer read rather widely in other lands, and created a singly original style in art and architecture – the Asturian Pre-Romanesque – absolutely without precedent or equal in the Western Europe of that era (see, for example, Bonet Correa and Nieto Alcaide). Later, as the Andalusi state weakened in the great *fitna* (internal conflict) of the late ninth century, a portion, at least, of the Asturian elite would adopt the goal of prosecuting complete reconquest, something that could hardly have been imagined a century earlier. Rather than finding crystallization of such an ambition artificial and pretentious, as was sometimes the tendency in twentieth-century historiography, the revisionist interpretation finds it a not unnatural consequence of the numerous factors at work.¹

The Spanish Grand Narrative, of course, normally tended to reify and exaggerate, as presumably all grand narratives do. While recent research tends to give

¹ A judicious recent summary may be found in the splendidly illustrated synthesis by Ruiz de la Peña Solar. Perhaps the best assiduous propagator of the new interpretation has been Besga Marroquín, who has published several more widely read articles in the popular history magazine *Historia 16*, in addition to his books cited earlier.

it somewhat greater basis within the kingdom of the Visigoths than was hitherto thought, the Grand Narrative's emphasis on Catholic mission, chosen people and implacable reconquest has always gone beyond what the historical evidence yields. Though one may find roots of what might be termed a Spanish ideology in Saint Isidore, concepts of ideology and mission evolved only slowly and somewhat intermittently among the elite of Asturias, León and Castile. Though Asturias was first made the target of an officially sustained Jihad under the Emir Hisham I in the final years of the eighth century, no official concept of crusade as counter-Jihad, *pace* Castro, developed in Asturias or Castile. The struggle against al-Andalus was apparently viewed in the first generations as a sort of territorial war, a conflict against a usurper who should be dispossessed of whatever was possible. Nearly two centuries were required to generate the goal of total reconquest, at least as a goal of part of the Asturian leadership, but this doctrine could not be sustained even among them after the basic shift in the military correlation of force during the tenth century. While al-Andalus practiced the Jihad according to pristine Islamic concepts (which, unlike the twentieth-century variants, included certain basic rules concerning treatment of non-combatants), the wars of Asturias and León could be called religious wars only in the sense of military conflict of a Christian society against an Islamic one. These were not a crusade in the later sense of a war officially blessed directly by the Church itself, with special spiritual endorsement and spiritual rewards.

The formal crusade was a papal and European Catholic concept that was fully articulated only in the last years of the eleventh century. The way had been progressively prepared by the Church's earlier proclamation of missionary wars or holy wars against non-Christian invaders or non-Christian targets for conquest and conversion in other parts of Europe. As is well known in Peninsular history, the first pre-crusade was in fact preached for the French and Aragonese conquest of Barbastro in 1063, temporary though it was. More than a few Spanish warriors were later motivated to go on the standard crusade to redeem the Holy Land, so that the papacy, which itself had developed a fairly systematic doctrine of reconquest and crusading, had to issue categorical instructions to Spanish Catholics on various occasions that their own responsibility must be the reconquest of Spain.² A very few ignored these and joined east Mediterranean crusades anyway.

Even though there was less zeal to conclude the Reconquest after the middle of the thirteenth century, the concept of crusade and religious war increasingly influenced Spanish attitudes from the end of the eleventh century on, though it did not necessarily dominate the policies of individual Spanish rulers. Some members of the elite did believe that a special mission existed, which in fact gave

² Study of the institution of the Crusade in Spain began with publication of Goñi Gaztambide's work in 1958. The most recent general investigation of the development of crusade theory is by Flori. The first comprehensive account of the Spanish Reconquest published in any language was by Lomax; and O'Callaghan provides a good recent synthesis.

Spain a certain pre-eminence among Christian powers. Thus at the Church Council of Basel in 1403, Alonso de Cartagena contended that the king of Castile clearly merited higher rank than his English counterpart, on the grounds that Castile practiced 'la guerra divinal' (Cantarino 201), something little known in England. Completion of the Reconquest in 1492 was accompanied by an outburst of messianism and apocalypticism exceeding anything seen in earlier times. By that time the ideology initially introduced in a much different guise by Isidore had become transmuted, was fully formed and was about to enter a new phase. It could never have developed as it did without the Islamic conquest, but recent research would indicate that its roots were rather deeper than Castro thought.

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Against the Arabs: Propaganda and Paradox in Medieval Castile

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The aim of this essay is to inquire into the issue of Christian propaganda and anti-Arab sentiment during the period of the Reconquest in Spain. This issue will be examined within the general context of the chivalric codes of ethics that characterized much of the medieval Castilian masculine discourse. Such discourse informed, or perhaps even controlled, the actions of the knights whose task it was to bring the Reconquest to a successful conclusion. I shall focus primarily on the fifteenth century. It was during this century, when the end of the Reconquest was clearly in sight, that anti-Arab propaganda became what could be called a literary common denominator, manifesting itself in venues as far apart stylistically as prose chronicles molded around sophisticated rhetorical infrastructures and ballads born of, and fueled by, the popular imagination.

I begin with the fifteenth-century chronicler Alfonso de Palencia. Palencia states in the prologue of his chronicle of the reign of King Enrique IV of Castile (1454–74) and succeeding years that his account is unique, for unlike other chronicles of Enrique's turbulent reign it is written not by a sycophant but by one who pursues and promotes the truth: 'un cultor de la verdad' (Palencia 2). What in fact distinguishes Palencia's chronicle from others is not so much the idea of veracity as the fact that Palencia fixes truth-telling firmly within the rhetorical frame of vituperative discourse. The chronicler's comments on Enrique, always negative, range from fairly reasonable professional concerns to malicious personal attacks. On the one hand, for example, Palencia argues that by disengaging from court life, routinely defying established protocol and subordinating his professional duties to personal pleasures (such as hunting, playing music and cavorting with local peasants), Enrique's behavior precipitated a chain of events that led to his own downfall. Thus, Palencia argues, by undermining his own authority as king, Enrique fueled the dynastic disputes of the day, which culminated in the unprecedented Farce of Ávila, when he was symbolically deposed in effigy by his enemies.¹ While this line of argument is open to debate, it is not

¹ The events leading up to the Farce of Ávila are masterfully analyzed by MacKay.

entirely unreasonable. On the other hand, Enrique is peremptorily condemned by Palencia as an impotent homosexual with a face like a monkey.²

Greenblatt, following Certeau's notion of 'heterology', or knowledge of the other, has referred appropriately to the Western European perception of alien cultures in the Middle Ages as 'those who live on the earth's margins in a bizarre world of deformity and inversion' (226). Palencia's chronicle is unique in that the ruling monarch himself is portrayed as a Castilian who embodies otherness. On the whole, Palencia depicts Enrique as a peripheral character, a physically deformed, mentally disturbed freak who, far from being at the epicenter of governmental, fiscal and military affairs, hovers at the margins of his own court, an object of ridicule and contempt.

Between the two extremes of vituperative criticism – that is, reasonable argumentation versus unreasonable defamatory attacks –, Palencia makes some interesting observations about the conduct of war: specifically, cavalry tactics and the radically different riding styles that were a subject of debate in Castile throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The riding style that defined knighthood in Western Europe during the Middle Ages was the stradiot style, whereby the knight was held tightly in the saddle by high cantles and rode with the legs stretched out so that he was virtually standing in the stirrups. The stradiot style formed a stark contrast with the jennet style of riding, where the rider crouched in the saddle like a modern-day jockey. Riding *a la jineta* was the preferred method of the Arabs. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Castilians did maintain a small force of *jinetes* stationed in Andalusia. The Bishop of Burgos, Alfonso de Cartagena, had lauded the contributions of this unique mounted force in his brilliant response to English diplomats in a debate over Castilian versus English military and political supremacy at the Council of Basel in 1434 (Cartagena 220a). Even though Cartagena was correct in his assertion that the

² Enrique IV's physical appearance and his behavior have intrigued historians for centuries. Marañón suggested that he suffered from eunuchoidism (75–83, 98–108). Marañón's theory is accepted by Suárez Fernández in his recent biography of the king (17–20). Based in part on the fact that Enrique was well known for his unkempt beard, Eisenberg dismissed this theory and suggested acromegaly instead. One problem with this theory is that acromegaly leads to gigantism in the extremities, yet Enrique is described by both his arch-enemy, Alfonso de Palencia, and the official court chronicler, Diego Enríquez del Castillo, as having well proportioned legs and feet ('piernas y pies bien proporcionados' [Palencia 6]; 'los pies delicados' [Enríquez del Castillo 134]). One of my Ph.D. students at the University of Georgia, Byron Hilbun Warner, III, is currently working on a fascinating paper that suggests that Enrique may have suffered from a mild form of autism, a condition which, even today, is not completely understood. On Enrique's simian features, see the following comment: 'La nariz era bastante deforme, ancha y remachada en su mitad a consecuencia de un accidente que sufrió en la primera niñez, dándole las facciones de un simio' (Palencia 6). Impotency and homosexuality are alluded to in Palencia's description of Enrique's marriage, which is referred to as 'aquel matrimonio inútil' (Palencia 6). Also in the description of the wedding night: 'Se produjeron muchos simulacros de alegría y regocijo, pero sin el verdadero gozo del matrimonio; después de las bodas la doncella quedó tan virgen como antes' (Palencia 4).

jinetes were a force to be reckoned with on the battlefield, his viewpoint is isolated and atypical in the context of medieval Castilian military and equestrian philosophy. The most typical view of this riding style is that expressed by Alfonso de Palencia, who declares that Enrique IV:

En efecto, rechazó con desdén toda pompa regia en el cabalgar, y prefirió la usanza de los caballeros moros, más propia para algaradas y escaramuzas, al aparato más noble usado por nosotros o por los italianos, tan respetable en la paz como fuerte en las expediciones y ejercicios militares. (Palencia 5)

He subsequently adds that Enrique:

Con unos cuantos jinetes recorría los campos armado también con la adarga, contra la antigua disciplina que prohíbe armarse a la ligera no sólo a nuestros reyes y capitanes, sino a todos los caballeros de Castilla dondequiera que se hallen, exceptuando sólo a los que residen en Andalucía. (Palencia 111)

Unlike Cartagena's, Palencia's views on equestrian tactics of Arabic origin are not based at all on pragmatic considerations. As Palencia inadvertently admits in these two critiques of Enrique (and elsewhere in his chronicle), the *jinetes* were particularly effective in ambushes, incursions and skirmishes, that is, the exact type of warfare on horseback that characterized the battles that were regularly fought outside the walls of fortified frontier cities during the final years of the Reconquest in Spain.³ Enrique's riding preferences are tacitly recognized by Palencia to be of great practical value in the general context of the war, while they are paradoxically manipulated to underscore this specific monarch's inability to rule the Christian state that was waging that war. Hence for Palencia, riding *a la jineta* appears to be at one and the same time reminiscent of the Christian chivalric ethic as well as its reversal. In this way the apparently mundane issue of riding technique is craftily manipulated to portray Enrique as a crypto-Muslim, an inversion or a reversal of everything that a Castilian monarch is supposed to be.

As I have mentioned in another article (Fallows, 'La guerra' 368), throughout the Middle Ages in Castile the law stipulated that, much like the ruling monarch, clerics and chroniclers were not to take up arms during war, but to exhort the subjects of the realm to fight in the name of God, monarch and country (Alfonso X, *Siete Partidas* II.xxi.12 and Russell 105–12, 180–94, 251–7 and 282–91). The

³ See, for example, the following statement, which recognizes the true nature of frontier cavalry warfare and the importance of the *jinetes*: 'Durante aquellos primeros días pocos grandes permanecieron al lado del rey. El más distinguido en las artes de la guerra se consideraba el conde de Alba Fernán Álvarez de Toledo, a quien seguían los dos alcaides de Benamaurel y de Benzalema Fernando de Herrera y Álvaro de Villapecellín, valientes varones que capitaneaban cada uno un escuadrón de jinetes con adargas bien avezados en la guerra por sus constantes batallas fronterizas con los moros granadinos' (Palencia 9).

principal weapons of these highly educated non-combatants were not the lance and the sword so much as the Bible and canon and civil law, as well as the interpretation of texts, individuals and events in a bellicose context. Alfonso de Cartagena, in his own introduction to title seven of book one of the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, justifies war against the Muslims of Granada by quoting from the Gospel of Saint Matthew and the writings of Pope Gregory the Great, as copied by Gratian in the *Decretum*. From his characteristically unique viewpoint, Cartagena admonishes Christian knights for wasting their time fighting in tournaments instead of killing Arabs, to whom he refers curtly as ‘los de Granada’ (Fallows, *Chivalric Vision* 255). Needless to say, the distinguished bishop wielded the pen with much more skill than he ever could have wielded the sword, and according to Cartagena war against the Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula was a legitimate cause as much for moral as for judicial reasons, for the Christians were not only fighting against the enemies of the Catholic faith, but they were also, from a legal standpoint, fighting to recover territory that had been usurped (Fallows, *Chivalric Vision* 117–18). Interestingly, by way of a propagandistic postscript to his own account of the siege of Loja (1486), the chronicler Fernando del Pulgar notes that Queen Isabel la Católica gave a speech to the knights who had been wounded in action, in which she too referred to both the spiritual and legal issues at stake (Pulgar, *Crónica* 439a). Isabel did own a manuscript copy of Cartagena’s *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, and it is perhaps through her reading of this text that she was able to formulate her harangue in this instance.⁴ What is certain is that the successor of Enrique IV was, without any doubt, fulfilling her obligations as ruling monarch. Rather than skirting at the periphery, Isabel was, through her presence and visibility, at the center of the action, exhorting even the wounded Christian knights to wrest the kingdom of Granada from enemy hands.

The importance of the knight’s ability to spur on his troops can be traced to Vegetius (III.IX). According to Alfonso de Cartagena’s translation of Vegetius’ *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (which Cartagena erroneously attributed to Seneca): ‘Las buenas palabras de los capitanes fazen crescer osadia a los que desesperan si en ellos non paresçe temor’ (González Rolán and Saquero Suárez-Somonte 144). Vegetius’ advice was incorporated into the *Siete Partidas* II.xxi.22 and II.xxiii.22, where Castilian knights, we are informed: ‘han de esforzar los suyos, e darles voluntad de hacer bien’ (Alfonso X 296ab) for ‘tal es la palabra e el esfuerzo del buen caudillo a su gente, quando han miedo, como es el físico al enfermo quando cuida morir’ (Alfonso X 313b). According to the *Siete Partidas*, the haughtier the content of hortatory harangues, the better, since such speeches are guaranteed to strike fear into the enemy. Indeed, it is precisely because of their rhetorical structure and their intended purpose that battle orations are considered to be one of

⁴ Isabel’s copy of the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* is currently housed in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS h-III-4. This manuscript is listed in the inventory of the Queen’s library, compiled in 1503. See Fallows, *Chivalric Vision* 48–9.

the very few acceptable exceptions to the cardinal sin of Pride.⁵ The *Siete Partidas* also stresses that the knight must be careful to deliver such speeches in calm, slow, deliberate tones so as not to alarm or disconcert his own troops. This advice coincides with the statutes of the Order of the Band of Castile: 'su fablar [del caballero] que no sea muy apriesa nin muy a voçes, e que pare siempre mientes en su lengua, que nunca diga palabra torpe' (Ceballos-Escalera y Gila 62). The balance between content and delivery must be just right, for the knight who is too loquacious, too egotistical or too imperious, or whose actions on the battlefield do not reflect the words of his speeches, will rapidly lose the attention and the respect of his men.⁶ Similar advice is given in a compact form in Pérez de Guzmán's *Crónica de Don Juan II*, when the young prince Fernando of Aragón is reminded in one lapidary statement that for a nobleman 'muy poco cuesta el bien hablar, é mucho aprovecha' (Pérez de Guzmán 344b).

This philosophy of leadership through rhetorical and enunciative dexterity helps explain two laws in the *Siete Partidas* that describe the *erechas*: that is, the compensatory sums of money that knights and their vassals were to receive for a variety of wounds incurred in battle (*Siete Partidas* II.xxv.2–3 [Alfonso X 324b–325b]).⁷ According to the *Siete Partidas*, knights who lost their upper and lower central and lateral incisors in battle were to be awarded the large sum of 40 *maravedís* per tooth in compensation. Although no explanation is provided in the text, it is evident that without these particular teeth it would be extremely difficult to enunciate clearly and consequently to issue coherent orders on the battlefield. As a point of comparison, the importance of the front teeth is

⁵ See *Siete Partidas* II.xxi.22: 'Hacederas son a los caballeros cosas señaladas, que por ninguna manera no las deben dejar; e éstas son en dos guisas: las unas, en dicho; e las otras, en hecho. E las de palabras son, que no sean villanos, ni desmesurados en lo que dijeren, ni soberbios, si no en aquellos lugares donde les conviene, así como en hecho de armas, donde han de esforzar los suyos, e darles voluntad de hacer bien, nombrando así, e mentando a ellos, que hagan lo mejor, trabándoles en lo que entendieren que yerran, e no hacen como deben' (Alfonso X 296ab).

⁶ See *Siete Partidas* II.xxi.7: 'Usando los hijosdalgo dos cosas contrarias les hace que lleguen a acabamiento de las buenas costumbres. E esto es, que de una parte sean fuertes e bravos, e de otra parte mansos, e humildes. Pues así como les está bien de haber palabras fuertes, e bravas, para espantar los enemigos, e arredrarlos de sí cuando fueren entre ellos, bien de aquella manera las deben haber en cosas mansas e humildes, para halagar, e allegar a aquellos que con ellos fueren, e serles de buen grado en sus palabras, e en sus hechos' (Alfonso X 289b). Also *Siete Partidas* II.xxiii.5: 'E aún dijeron los antiguos que los caudillos deben haber dos cosas, que semejan contrarias: la una, que fuesen habladores; e la otra, calladores. Pues bien razonados, e de buena palabra, deben ser para saber hablar con las gentes, e apercibirlos, e mostrarles lo que han de hacer antes que vengan al hecho; otrosí, deben haber buena palabra, e recia, para darles conhorto, e esfuerço, cuando en el hecho fueren. Callado debe ser, de manera que no será cotidianamente hablador, porque hubiese su palabra a envilecer entre los hombres' (Alfonso X 304b–305a).

⁷ The *erechas* are not an exclusively medieval phenomenon. Compare, for example, the gruesome list of wounds and compensation in *Return of the Names*, which was published in the wake of the Napoleonic campaigns.

underscored by the fact that the *Siete Partidas* recommend a compensatory sum of only seventy-five *maravedís* for the families of vassals whose wounds are fatal. That is to say, that the life of a vassal was valued at five *maravedís* less than two teeth of a knight. In a similar vein, Juan Quijada de Reayo in his own theoretical treatise on knighthood recommends that helmets be drilled with small holes around the ear so that in the thick of battle the combatants can hear the orders issued to them (Fallows, *Un texto inédito* 47).

The verbal eloquence to which Christian knights aspired forms a stark contrast with the crude verbosity which, according to medieval Spanish vernacular sources, was symptomatic of Arabic conduct in wartime. The final years of the Reconquest have been described appropriately by Cook as a cannon conquest. This campaign was characterized primarily by a laborious series of sieges, and the chances of engaging the enemy hand-to-hand in single combat diminished as Christian-occupied territories expanded. The Muslims preferred, logically, to retreat behind the walls of their fortified cities and defend themselves from the battlements against the relentless advance of the Christian forces. According to Christian chroniclers, a common tactic of the Arab enemy was to shout insults and obscenities while archers showered the enemy with volleys of arrows, thereby harassing their Christian foe psychologically as well as physically. The chronicler Andrés Bernáldez, for example, notes that this was precisely how the Arabs massacred the Christians at the battle of the Axarquía in Málaga in 1483 (Bernáldez, *Memorias* 127 and *Historia* 609ab). It is no coincidence that treacherous Muslims who shout from battlements are also a recurring motif in medieval Spanish balladry of the Reconquest, especially in ballads concerning sieges. In a ballad that describes the siege of Baza (1489), for example, King Fernando is addressed vociferously and at some length by ‘un moro tras una almena’ (Smith 73, verse 11). In a ballad that describes the siege of Álora (1434), it is a treacherous Arab crossbowman who shouts from the battlements, tricking his victim into raising the visor of his helmet before he shoots an arrow at his head. The unchivalric motif in this example is not shooting the arrow so much as shouting to the victim in the victim’s own language, disorienting him and tricking him into exposing a vulnerable body part. The ballad is historically accurate insofar as the actual shot is concerned. In this case the arrow is fired with deadly accuracy from an acute angle (see below on the skill required when shooting from battlements). The arrow enters the victim’s forehead and exits through the back of his neck. The text reads as follows:

Entre almena y almena
 quedado se había un morico
 con una ballesta armada
 y en ella puesto un cuadrillo.
 En altas voces decía
 que la gente lo había oído:
 ‘¡Treguas, treguas, adelantado,
 por tuyo se da el castillo!’
 Alza la visera arriba

por ver el que tal le dijo;
 asestárale a la frente,
 salido le ha al colodrillo. (Smith 63–4, verses 19–30)

Arabs, according to Fernando del Pulgar, tend to be ‘belicosos, astutos e muy engañosos en las artes de la guerra’ (Pulgar, *Claros varones* 55). As I mentioned above, Arab warriors, as they were perceived through the eyes of Christian chroniclers, rode in a way that simultaneously reflected, yet subverted, the Western chivalric ethic. This paradox is pushed to its absolute limit in the popular medium of balladry, where the Moorish king Marsín, who is described as a ‘caballero’, rides not a horse but a zebra at the epic battle of Roncesvaux (Smith 76, verses 77–9). Ever conscious of the rhetorical parameters of historical discourse and the precarious nature of truth-telling, the highly educated chroniclers stop short of pushing the paradox too far. As we have seen in Palencia’s defamatory portrayal of Enrique IV, medieval and Renaissance chroniclers knew that propaganda was indissolubly linked to otherness, but they also knew that propaganda could only be as effective as it was credible.⁸ Hence in addition to equestrian technique, the Arabs used weapons that were at one and the same time reminiscent of, but radically different from, those of their Christian counterparts. The poisoned weapons that Arab archers supposedly used with great frequency constituted a technical equivalent of what might be termed their corruption of rhetorical eloquence, and there is little doubt that most Christian troops lived in fear of poisoned arrows fired by Arab archers and crossbowmen. Indeed, during the Reconquest and in subsequent Spanish campaigns in northern Africa, Christian knights who engaged in battle with the enemy were often more afraid of the poison with which the Arabs tipped their arrows than of the arrows themselves. As one chronicler candidly remarked: ‘por una parte estaban temerosos y por la otra muy apercibidos, principalmente de saetas con hierba, a cuya causa todos los soldados que fueron heridos con ellas a cabo de pocos días murieron todos’ (Santa Cruz 1:449).

In order for an arrow-volley to strike its target with success, a variety of factors had to be considered, such as range, atmospheric conditions – especially wind speed and visibility –, the mental and physical state of the archers, the trajectory and angle of impact of the arrow and the defensive properties of the armor worn by the knights at whom the archers aimed. With the notably rare exception of armies that had the strategic misfortune of being surrounded by the enemy, as was the Christian heavy cavalry at the disastrous battle of Alcalá la Real in 1394, the pattern of damage inflicted by archers on an advance of armored infantry and cavalry in the Middle Ages was typically one of many disabling wounds and few fatalities.⁹ For example, when a Christian raiding party made an incursion into

⁸ On the importance of credibility, see Taithe and Thornton.

⁹ The battle has been described as follows: ‘E el Maestre puso la batalla á pie con las trecientas lanzas é sus omes de pie; é los Moros se llegaron luego muy denodadamente, en

Muslim territory in 1430 and was subsequently ambushed by archers on the outskirts of Málaga, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán noted in particular that although many of the Christian troops were wounded in the attack, none died of his injuries (489b). Similarly, when Juan II laid siege to the town of Atienza in 1446, the king's men were shot at repeatedly by enemy archers as soon as they came within firing range, and yet, although there were many casualties, especially among the horses, not one of the besiegers was killed (Pérez de Guzmán 640b–641a).

While it was possible to survive an arrow wound, a wound inflicted by a poisoned arrow would inevitably lead to infection and amputation or death. Significantly, however, descriptions of knights and soldiers dying of wounds inflicted by poisoned weapons are limited in contemporary chronicles to isolated incidents, which would not logically follow if indeed the Arabs were persistently showering the enemy with poisoned arrows. The only instance recorded in Pérez de Guzmán's *Crónica de Don Juan II*, for example, which covers some forty-eight years (1406–54) of incessant sieges, pitched battles and skirmishes, is that of the Biscayan knight, Martín Ruiz de Avendaño, who was killed during the siege of Antequera in 1410 when he was purportedly struck by a poisoned cross-bow bolt (Pérez de Guzmán 322a). Poisoned arrows would, without a doubt, compensate for some of the factors mentioned above. Yet in wartime Arab archers would carry approximately twenty-five arrows in a quiver, with extra supplies stuffed in their belts and boots (Faris and Elmer 155), therefore handling poison would be dangerous in the extreme, and the effects of poison would wear off if the arrows were not fired expeditiously. I have found no reference to the sanctioned use of venomous arrows in Arabic military treatises on archery. Arab archers appear to have been as devoted toxophilites as their Christian counterparts, and the Arabic manuals stress drill, discipline and orderliness, as well as the great concentration that is required in order to be a successful archer. According to a Mameluke treatise composed c.1368, for example: 'While shooting is taking place, the archer should not look too much at his companion nor disturb him nor distract him with anything such as conversation or the like' (Latham and Paterson 154). The same treatise states that firing at the enemy from battlements requires particular skill and concentration. The instructions read as follows: 'Tuck your head under your right forearm and tilt your left arm downwards, take aim at your enemy, and shoot him. That is what you do if he is at the bottom of the fortress and shooting from beneath a shield. This can only be achieved by a great deal of practice and experience' (Latham and Paterson 137).

guisa que partieron los omes de pie de los omes de armas, é entraron en medio, é alli fueron muertos pieza de Moros é de Caballeros; empero los Moros nunca mas dexaron ayuntar á los Omes de armas con los sus Omes de pie, é los Moros cercaron los Omes de armas, tirandoles con saetas é truenos é fondas é dardos, fasta que los mataron todos; é alli murió el Maestre, é las trescientas lanzas, que non escapó ninguno de los que se pusieron a pie' (*Crónica del Rey Don Enrique, tercero de Castilla e de León* 223a). On the ballistics and the effectiveness of arrow-volleys, see especially Foley et al., Jones, Lillo Carpio, and Vale 110–13.

Similar advice is reiterated in an anonymous manual composed c. 1500, where the prospective archer is advised that he needs two traits: caution and patience (Faris and Elmer 17). It is therefore doubtful that the Arab archers themselves even shouted out as they shot, as Bernáldez contends. The remarkable accuracy of Arab archers – and it would seem that accuracy rather than deadliness is what the Christians were really afraid of – is underscored by Paterson in his detailed analysis of the Islamic composite bow. Paterson conjectures that a 65–70lb bow would be capable of driving a war arrow ‘through any armor or mail up to a range of about 100 yards given, in the case of armor, a reasonably square hit on the surface of the plate’ (Paterson 86).

In his book on medieval manuscript culture, Dagenais argues persuasively that medieval readers would not have known texts as we know them today – specifically, Dagenais discusses the fourteenth-century *Libro de Buen Amor* – because medieval texts were essentially fragmentary in nature. Even the practicalities of reading codices, Dagenais observes, involve a complex process of joining and separating words, resolving abbreviations and supplying punctuation. Such preoccupations and fascinations with wholeness and fragmentation, I would add, affected not only literature, but also the daily lives of medieval men and women of all social classes, at a time when justice, pageantry and warfare were very much public spectacles, and both spectators and participants were regularly afforded the opportunity to witness limbs being severed on the scaffold, in the lists or on the battlefield. As Díaz de Games notes, mutilation that resulted in permanent disfigurement or disablement was particularly feared by medieval knights: ‘Ca el cavallero, mejor le es morir con todos sus mienbros juntos, segund que Dios ge los dio, que non bivar lastimado e menguado, e verse e non ser para bien ninguno’ (431).

The preoccupations with wholeness and fragmentation that characterized the writings of chivalric theorists and commentators such as Díaz de Games were just as ubiquitous in the writings of medieval chroniclers. Thus, as well as firing poisoned arrows, the Arabs were so depraved, according to Pérez de Guzmán, that they even executed their prisoners and made projectiles of the naked, mutilated cadavers, which they hurled at the enemy from the safety of the battlements, as, for example, in the siege of Setenil, in 1407. What Castilian chroniclers tend to omit is precisely that, as inhumane as such tactics were, they were by no means limited to Arabic culture, and similar examples abound throughout Western Europe in the Middle Ages (Bradbury 250–81). Of particular interest in Spain is the case of the Arab spy, Ibrahim al-Jarbi, who was seized by Christians at the siege of Málaga in 1487, after a botched assassination attempt on the lives of King Fernando and Queen Isabel. His body was not only hacked to pieces but was also lobbed back over the city walls in segments. The chronicler who describes the incident, Fernando del Pulgar, puts forward a specious argument in which he is careful to underscore the perfidy and treachery of an Arab who would dare commit regicide, as a means of justifying al-Jarbi’s cruel fate and the atrocity committed against him. Furthermore, as an appropriate propagandistic postscript to the incident, Pulgar adds that the Arabs retaliated by slaughtering an innocent Galician prisoner who, far from committing a serious crime, simply had the

misfortune of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. The anonymous victim's body was subsequently dismembered and the pieces were hurled into the Christian camp (Pulgar, *Crónica* 627b–628a). Whereas the Christians execute specific individuals for specific reasons, the Arabs, Pulgar implies, execute and dismember unnamed innocent victims at random.

My intention in this essay is not simply to debunk the myths surrounding the alleged Arabic penchant for venomous weapons and rhetoric, but also to explain why these myths existed in the first place. For many years, scholars of contemporary American folklore, in particular Brunvand, have collected urban legends: that is, 'realistic stories concerning recent events (or alleged events) with an ironic or supernatural twist'. Urban legends, adds Brunvand, are 'a unique, unselfconscious reflection of major concerns of individuals in the societies in which they circulate' (xi–xii). Brunvand maintains that while urban legends evolve principally in oral tradition, they are often disseminated and validated by the mass media. Many urban legends that circulate in contemporary American society have racist implications, which reveal white middle-class suspicions and fears of minorities. Such theories are easily transposed to the Christian cultural ethic of medieval Spain. What better equivalent to the mass media and the hyperbole of Grub Street than the proliferation of medieval Castilian chroniclers, who disseminated tales of corporeal mutilation, dismemberment and abuse after death, thereby validating the plausibility of the tales and consequently, their credibility? It is no coincidence that the arrows tipped with venom – Brunvand's 'supernatural twist' – that form the basis of the Arabic threat are listed as motifs in Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (§D2161.4.14.1.1 and §F831.3). In a similar vein, Fernando del Pulgar's narrative strategy of appending a tale of random retaliatory execution to his version of the events surrounding the capture and execution of Ibrahim al-Jarbi is clearly intended to strike fear into the reader's heart, the implication being that 'this could happen to you'. It is a strategy that is still used today, particularly in danger- and violence-oriented urban legends; what Henken labels the victim as stand-in for all of us (270).

My contention, then, is that the vituperative rhetoric as conceived by medieval and Renaissance Castilian chroniclers to underscore the ignominious reputation of the Arabs in war was based more on the propagandistic fantasies of the chroniclers than on historical reality, or Palencia's 'truth'. The role in warfare of theorists and chroniclers was thus paradoxical, for their tendency to disseminate propaganda that demonized the common enemy, instead of inspiring Christian troops, merely exposed their own vulnerabilities, fears and anxieties. As a result, perfectly legitimate tactics, such as riding *a la jineta*, were eschewed, and even worse, the Arab enemy, who was by the fifteenth century barely even on an equal footing, was feared for reasons that were at once plausible yet entirely mythical. While the military function of those to whom Alfonso de Cartagena refers as 'los de Granada' did distance and define Arab from Christian, it is ironic that the supposed differences between the two provided the Christians with a psychological handicap and the Arabs with a significant tactical advantage in the crucial final years of the Reconquest in Spain.

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Conquest and Conversion in the Hispanic Chivalric Romance: The Case of *Reinaldos de Montalván*

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In one of the few articles dedicated to the topic of conversion in the Castilian chivalric romance, Whitenack surveys Hispanic chivalric texts published between the years 1490 and 1524.¹ She finds that enforcing baptism on the principal warriors and the army en masse is a pattern found in a wide range of medieval (pre-1490) works (15). She also states that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Castilian translations of chivalric fiction, such as *Historia de los nobles caballeros Oliveros de Castilla y Artús de Algarbe*, differ little from the medieval romances, where conversion is ‘narrated perfunctorily and with little attempt to justify or explain [it]’ (17). According to Whitenack, in the translations and medieval romances, methods of conversion were based on power and intimidation and included:

defeat by a Christian army, miracles or visions, promises of future benefits (military, martial or material), or capture by an individual Christian; sometimes one finds in addition a brief reference to instruction, persuasion or preaching [. . .]. Conversion is treated as merely a symbol of a change in political allegiance, so common and so natural an event that no lengthy discussion or rationalization was necessary. (20)

However, one translation not taken into consideration, *Reinaldos de Montalván*, follows many of the patterns the critic notes for indigenous Peninsular romances and, if considered in Whitenack’s study, might have altered her

¹ Whitenack studies *Tirant lo Blanc*, *Las sergas de Esplandián* and *Florisando* as representative Peninsular texts that establish the convention of conversion between the years 1490 and 1510. She then analyzes *Floriseo*, *Lepolemo* and *Clarián de Landanís* I,2 as texts that show changes and developments in the convention from 1511 to 1524 (21). She does not include in her discussion *Palmerín de Olivia*, *Primaleón de Grecia*, *Lisuarte de Grecia*, *Arderique*, *Clarián de Landanís* I,1, *Claribalte*, *Clarián de Landanís* III or *Reymundo de Grecia*, since the heroes of those texts ‘do not seem to consider conversion as one of their principal goals, and the conversions themselves are recounted in the brief, unexamined fashion of the medieval works already mentioned’ (23).

conclusions somewhat, for while it clearly demonstrates many of the characteristics that she describes for medieval works and translations, it offers other, more detailed reasons for and methods of conversion. As will be shown, *Reinaldos* is more akin to the Peninsular romances of 1490–1524 in that conversion has a prominent place in the text: the knight baptizes and converts individuals with whom he comes in contact, either lovers or warriors, and he is a charismatic figure who brings the non-believer to Christ; and these are precisely the characteristics Whitenack attributes to native Castilian works (37).

The *Reinaldos* romance is composed of three books. The first two, entitled *Libro del noble y esforçado & inuencible cauallero Renaldos de Montaluan*, are a translation from *L'innamoramento di Carlo Magno*, printed c.1481. The first recorded edition dates from 1513, and the first extant edition appeared in 1523. The romance underwent at least eight printings in the sixteenth century and experienced a seemingly extensive dissemination.² *Reinaldos*' third book, *Trapesonda*, is first recorded as printed in 1526, with first extant edition dating from 1533. The third book is also translated into Castilian from an Italian source (König 191, Garza Merino 8): *Trabisonda hystoriata* (c.1483).

Employing the commonplace of *amor de oídas*, the romance begins with Charlemagne falling in love with the legendary Saracen beauty, Balisandra, without ever having seen her. After Reinold, accompanied by Roland, brings Balisandra to the emperor and defeats the Saracen troops that come to rescue her from the Christians, there follows a series of Reinold's adventures and misadventures, all caused by the jealous treachery of his archenemy Ganelon, the emperor's brother-in-law and counselor.³ Reinold falls in and out of Charlemagne's favor several times, each resulting from bad advice given to the emperor by Ganelon, principal of the house of Maganza, foe to the house of Claramonte, to which Reinold belongs. With each of Reinold's exiles, the out-cast sallies forth to win even more fame and honor than before; but while he is rich in glory, he is always poor of coin. His adventures are motivated foremost by the need to gain lands and wealth to maintain his home, as well as to return to the emperor's good graces, and, in addition, by the desire to conquer the infidels. With each disgrace, he finds a companion knight to help him in his travels, battles and reconquest of his beloved Montalván, that is forfeit to Charlemagne with each exile. Of Reinold's friend/companion knights, there first is Salion, the king of Lira, then the pagan knight Tintinago and finally the Byzantine Filominiso. There are also many amorous adventures in Reinold's travels as young noblewomen and princesses fall madly in love as he passes through far-away kingdoms.

² See the introductory study to my edition of the *Libro del noble y esforçado & inuencible cauallero Renaldos de Montaluan (Reinaldos)* and Corfis, 'Chivalric'.

³ When discussing the character in general, since the material is similar and spans various literary traditions and languages, the spelling *Reinold* will be used. When referring only to the Spanish work, title or character, the name will be spelled *Reinaldos*.

The third book, *El tercero libro de don Renaldos de Montalván, emperador de Trapesonda*, continues Reinold's adventures as emperor of Trebizond to his martyrdom. *Trapesonda* concludes with Reinold giving up the imperial title, renouncing arms, living a penitent life and finally making his way to Cologne, where he aids in the construction of the abbey and is killed by envious laborers. Miracles are associated with his body and relics. The legend of Reinold, the knight, becomes a saint's tale.⁴ In the romance, warrior becomes model Christian, and fiction follows saintly legend.

Aspects of divine recognition, sainthood and miracles are paramount in Reinold's later life as much as they reflect his earlier years. The poor, rebel knight, often called trickster and thief, has been favored by divine guidance throughout the three books. Divine acknowledgement of his superiority is evident from the beginning. One example will suffice to demonstrate the leitmotif. Under the guise of binding through marriage a truce between the houses of Maganza and Claramonte, Ganelon convinces the emperor and Reinold of his good will. Unbeknown to them, all is a ruse to kill Reinold and his family: Ganelon has plotted an ambush for the wedding party. However, divine intervention makes the treachery known: Roland learns of the plot and warns Reinold, saving his life (*Reinaldos* 122). Indeed, at every turn of fortune Reinold succeeds due to his constant reliance on God. He shows a fervent desire to promote the Christian faith by converting the pagans through battle and conquest. Thus Reinold's martyrdom brings the first two books to fruition as his life's work culminates in saintly glory.

The 'infidels' in the text are referred to as pagan or Muslim, and there is a conflation of the two in many ways. It is not uncommon to have 'pagans' praying to Mohammed, Apollin, Mars and Apollo.⁵ In fact, this was common in many romances.⁶ Speaking of the Italian romance, *Guerrino il Meschino* by Andrea da

⁴ According to modern Catholic martyrology, St Reinold (960; spelled also Rainold or Reynold, one of Charlemagne's descendants) entered the Benedictine monastery of Pantaleon, Cologne, where he was appointed head of the abbey's construction of the church of St Peter. He was killed by stonemasons who were envious that he worked harder and was more accomplished than they. 'He was beaten to death with hammers and his body thrown into a pool near the Rhine. His body was found through divine means. Reinold is considered a patron of stonemasons' (*Catholic Online*).

⁵ For examples of the use of the names Apolo, Apolino, Mars/Mares and Mahoma as gods, see *Reinaldos* 182, 245, 247, 253, 477.

⁶ Whitenack also points to the indiscriminate terminology (15 and note 6); as does Heng (79–80). Hoepfner discusses the Saracens being portrayed as pagans and idolaters, worshiping idols (56–7). Whitenack and Hoepfner cite Southern, among other critics, to argue that the inaccurate portrayal was possibly due to the audience's ignorance. Hoepfner also cites Daniel, as one example of those who suggest that the misperception was deliberate, with comic intent (Daniel 121 and chapters 6, 7; cited by Hoepfner 73n7). For a further discussion of the portrayal of the Muslims, see Tolan. In addition Jones notes that in the epic: 'The mediaeval mind seems to have made no distinction at all between unbelievers of various races' (204), for the Saracen is 'modelled on the biblical, heathen idolator rather than from observations

Barberino, which was also translated into Spanish in the sixteenth century, Allaire comments on the same confusion:

Although Andrea at times approaches historical accuracy, [. . .] [w]e find, for example, the misconception that the Saracens worship Muhammad as their God. Likewise, the false trinity of Saracen gods from Old French *chansons de geste* recurs [. . .] with the Italian names Macone, Apollin, and Trevigante (68v, 104r). In one instance [. . .] perhaps viewing the name Apollin as analogous to the Greek god Apollo, Andrea conflates pagan and Islamic practices and [. . .] had no difficulty inserting yet another god into Saracen worship. The formidable warrior Guerrino is repeatedly called 'son of Mars, the god of battles' by an admiring Oriental king (65v, 69r). ('Portrayal of Muslims' 248–9)⁷

In *Reinaldos*, the same misappropriation of classical gods to Islamic religious figures shows a lack of intimate knowledge of Islamic religious lore on the one hand, as well as an imprecise ethnic terminology on the other. A Christian worldview is superimposed on the other's beliefs as all non-Christian practices are blended into a single representation. One example will demonstrate the case. The *Reinaldos* romance describes the supreme wealth of the Muslims through their treasuries and the golden figures of Mohammed that they carry with them into battle (e.g., *Reinaldos* 71–2, 86–8, 90–1), which, of course, is contrary to the laws of Islam. Perhaps such descriptions sprang from the medieval Western perception of Arabic wealth and the belief that gold was plentiful in Muslim lands. According to Fletcher, mid-tenth-century Muslim Spain, which is represented in *Reinaldos*, was known throughout Western Europe for its wealth: Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, a tenth-century German poet, describes Iberian Muslims as worshipping golden idols, and the *Chanson de Roland* repeatedly referred to the vast gold reserves held by Marsile, the Muslim king of Zaragoza (Fletcher 54). In the end, it was not essential for the author, translator or public to distinguish between various non-Christian faiths or portray accurately their practices or god(s). What was important was that the other was decadent, outside Christian society and, thus, needed to be converted to the truth.⁸

made at first-hand. His portrait is utterly useless as a guide to students of mediaeval manners and customs. It is based on hate, on a deliberately false propaganda. Its object was to disfigure, and the few instances, [*sic*] in which there is a more or less faithful representation of reality is accidental' (225).

⁷ In another article, the same critic notes that, in spite of the false portrayal of Islamic religious practices in late medieval Italian texts, the Saracens 'do receive a more humanized, less evil or bestial representation than in the *chansons de geste*' ('Noble Saracen' 181).

⁸ Other non-religious aspects also change in the description of the Saracens: for example, military titles refer to admirals, marquises, princes, dukes and counts among the Muslim hierarchy (e.g., *Reinaldos* 87). Jones catalogues many such misrepresentations of the Saracens – both religious and secular.

In the *Reinaldos* romance conversion affects women and warriors and the overlapping subset of women warriors. The examples of conversion that will be presented in this study are not meant to propose a theory of conquest or conversion, but in a more descriptive manner to show how conquest and conversion function in a specific literary work; neither is this study meant to give a detailed analysis of the Christianizing aspects of the romance, but to point out that, like other works such as the Troy and Alexander texts, *Reinaldos*' portrayal of the other is based on a Christianized stereotype, as were the descriptions of Darius and Porus in the *Libro de Alexandre*, and that the stereotype of the other as weak and inferior to the Christian knight/warrior is a factor in the conquest and conversion process.⁹ The other, accustomed to abundant luxury and ease, will necessarily be defeated and denounce personal and religious convictions more readily than the stronger conqueror. The other gives definition to the Christian self through differences in religious beliefs, strength of character and physical force, which allow the Christians to conceptualize their superiority and define themselves as a group.

The conversion of women plays an important role in *Reinaldos*, where noble Saracen women are generally lovers or warriors or both. A prime example is Balisandra, Charlemagne's beloved, King Trafiomer's daughter. At first she is shown to be inconsolable upon her father's death at Reinold's hand. She then takes comfort and accepts her situation. She is treated kindly and attended by many noble ladies who console her as she begins to forget her lost family and homeland and take heart at the tales the ladies tell of the wonders of the Christian kingdom and of Charlemagne's splendor and magnificence, all of which would bring Balisandra honor (*Reinaldos* 76). While the narrator does not tell us of Balisandra's conversion, based on her delight in hearing of Christendom, the reader is left to assume a conversion that is not described.

Another beautiful princess, King Agolandro's daughter, Calidonia, becomes Reinold's lover. Calidonia, with the help of her nurse as go-between, arranges the affair. When Reinold's true identity is discovered, Calidonia's father imprisons him and then, swayed by his daughter's pleas, exiles the knight from the kingdom. Calidonia plans her escape with Reinold, who will first return to France to seek help from Roland, with whom he will return to win Calidonia in a tournament (*Reinaldos* 239). Her plan is successful. Together the knights defeat the Saracen nobles in competition and flee with Calidonia, who meets her death at her brother's hand as she rides through the battle with Reinold. However, before her death, for love of Reinold, Calidonia converts to Christianity and is baptized by Roland (*Reinaldos* 260–2).

By her active participation in arranging the affair, Calidonia is typical of the Saracen princesses portrayed in many Western medieval romances. Heng notes that these women, 'inconstant to their religious and political communities, and

⁹ Some of the examples here discussed are also presented in *Reinaldos* (5–29) and can be read in fuller detail there.

often slyly treacherous to their families [. . .] tend to be written by cultural fantasy as desiring, sexually aggressive agents, whose religious conversion is part of their bold enactment of their erotic attraction to particular Christian men' (187). And, indeed, Calidonia goes against her father's wishes, helps the enemy and plots against her father. She follows her lover, leaving family and country behind. As Heng notes for the English romance, and as seems to hold true here as well, a queen, princess or high-ranking lady who converts to the religion of the conqueror – or in this case the victor in battle – shows 'a colonizing impetus at work in the representation, but the historical epoch's principal preoccupations write that colonization as a private love story mostly involving the important, high-level individuals who are the usual actors in elite cultural fantasy' (186). For Balisandra and Calidonia, as well as for some of the women warriors in the romance, separation from family and acceptance of a new life symbolizes the appropriation, assimilation and acculturation of the other.¹⁰ In the specific case of Calidonia, however, love causes first separation, then acculturation through conversion and ultimately death.

Another in the cast of characters found in the romance is the female warrior. They are five in all, four of whom are Saracen: Fauarda, Trafata, Madama Roança and Frosina.¹¹ While all these women are warriors, only two, Roança and Frosina, are described as giantesses. Two of the non-Christian women, Fauarda and Frosina, convert to Christianity after they witness Reinold's prowess. Trafata and Roança remain constant in their faith and, therefore, are repeatedly defeated by the Christians and die at their hands.

Trafata and Fauarda, mother and daughter, are described as strong and valiant and proficient in the use of arms (*Reinaldos* 134). At one point Fauarda is captured by the Christians and then ransomed by her mother in exchange for Oliver's and Brandamonte's release, only to be taken prisoner again by Reinold. While in the French camp, she marries King Salion, who had previously converted to Christianity out of admiration for Reinold, and she herself converts because she sees the Saracens' weakness in their failure to defeat the French and their inability to keep her safe (*Reinaldos* 160). She taunts the Saracens in general and Carmelo, her betrothed, in particular for going back on their promises and not defending their women from capture (*Reinaldos* 166).

Mirrer notes a similar commonplace in her chapter 'Of Muslim Princesses and Deceived Young Muslim Women':

¹⁰ This model is true of another Saracen princess in *Reinaldos*: the case of Dondolina, one of Reinold's lovers, who works against her father's realm for love of Reinold. She is ultimately married to a poor, but noble, Christian knight (*Reinaldos* 98–120).

¹¹ This type of woman descends from the legendary Amazons. Marín Pina shows that the warrior maiden appears in ballad and dramatic traditions. See also Delpech for more on the figure in the ballads. Alonso Asenjo points to her presence in the humanistic theatre. The giantess in *Amadís* has been studied by Mérida Jiménez.

The concubinage of the *morica* had to be dreamed up to justify the push toward hegemony, entailing Christian right to Muslim Spain: Male Muslims' failure to properly protect what was theirs – whether young women's virtue or their own territories – legitimized Christian possession, and the young Muslim virgin's exercise of her childbearing capacities on behalf of a Christian man who was not her spouse [. . .] vindicated Christian hegemonic ideals by demonstrating that Muslims themselves reject Muslim values. (23)

In *Reinaldos*, childbearing and lineage are not the focal point of Fauarda's conversion nor does it deal with concubinage, for Fauarda's marriage is sanctioned by the Church. However, similar to the Moorish women Mirrer analyzes in the epic and ballad, the key element to Fauarda's conversion is the realization that the Saracen male cannot protect her or keep her safe.¹² Since the Christians display prowess and nobility, Fauarda embraces their religion and culture, and, as noted earlier of Balisandra, 'oluido luego a su madre [. . .] & su tierra' (*Reinaldos* 160). As mentioned above with regard to Calidonia, female converts are treacherous to their family, and their separation and acculturation represent a means of cultural colonization through religion. Fauarda leaves her past behind, affirms her new faith and even fights against her own mother Trafata, who, on the other hand, dies defending Islamic beliefs.

Similarly, another woman warrior, Frosina, a giantess, is described as both strong and brave, yet feminine. Frosina presents reasons for conversion that echo those of Fauarda, for she recognizes Reinold's extraordinary power and valor, which according to the knight come only through Christ. She vows that she will convert to Christianity if Reinold defeats her in battle and proves his strength in arms (*Reinaldos* 201). When Reinold wins the combat, Frosina embraces the superior God and is baptized (*Reinaldos* 204). Conversion is realized through combat, and the battle becomes a confrontation of ideologies.¹³

In a seminal study, Jones commented along the same lines on conversion in the epic songs:

In mediaeval eyes conversion was the sign of the acceptance of defeat, and it was only logical that such a belief should be attributed to the Saracens also. [. . .] Conversion was never regarded by either side, in fact or fiction, as the result of faith, of reflexion or of instruction. It never occurred to these medieval minds that the articles of belief might have in themselves a force sufficiently compelling to convince the heathen. Something more was always necessary, some miracle, divine intervention, terror, or, more simply, the fear of death. (223)

¹² The docile Muslim male is also studied by Mirrer in her chapter 'Muslim Men in the Ballad' (47–65), as well as by Burshatin ('The Docile Image').

¹³ This is one of the characteristics noted by Whitenack: 'The conviction that the truth is revealed by combat, both in clashes between individual knights and battles on a grand scale, means that the battlefield victories have ideological implications' (15).

Thus the battle to prove the power of one religion over another is not novel in *Reinaldos* but rather part of a long tradition of cultural confrontation. In defeat, the other converts. Power indicates superiority not only in physical but spiritual matters. In addition, Frosina, like Fauarda, is married to a Christian convert, a giant warrior named Tirante, and becomes pregnant with twins. The Muslim female is here associated with both conversion and maternity, all of which promote Christianity.

Many of Frosina's company convert with her (*Reinaldos* 205). The same occurs in other moments of the romance where Saracen knights and male warriors convert to Christianity upon their leader's baptism: e.g., Salion and his vassals (*Reinaldos* 133, 150) and Tirante's army (*Reinaldos* 228). Throughout the work, captured Saracen troops are offered the opportunity to stay in Christian lands if they convert or return home if they do not. Under such circumstances, entire enemy armies change religion.¹⁴ This is also seen in the epic:

The Saracens are constantly impressed by possible gains and losses, by their own advantage and disadvantage. In success they are exultantly pious and faithful to their creed, in failure they abuse and break to pieces their gods. They thus accept the offer of baptism when they are fearful of the consequences of refusal, and they feel no shame at such a conversion. When, in the songs, the leader has accepted, his followers are obliged by their sense of duty and under pain of similar threats, to follow his example. (Jones 223)

Armies follow the leader into battle and into conversion. Again, power and material security play an important part in conversion, both individual and collective.

The last woman to mention here, Roança, Trafata's cousin, is described as a woman warrior and a frightful giantess: strong, fierce and invincible. Reinold has to resort to trickery to defeat her. He slips into the enemy camp, hides among dead bodies and waits until she passes viewing the death and destruction of the battle. At the appropriate moment he strikes with his sword and wounds her leg so fiercely that she falls and cannot get up and thus meets her death (*Reinaldos* 116–17). Roança is killed by the Christians but only through ambush. Her hatred for the Christians is vehement and she dies defending her faith. It is significant that the character who most hates and defies the Christians is portrayed as the fiercest as well as most ugly of all the women or giantesses in the romance. She is described as deformed and repulsive (*Reinaldos* 101, 105). Here, as elsewhere in literature, physical ugliness and deformity, through folklore and symbol, reflect a blackness of soul, a follower of a false religion.

There are also individual male conversions: e.g., Reinold's companions (Salion, Filominiso and Tintinago) and the two giants Tirante and Balnaso. The conversions are attributable to Reinold's efforts. Upon meeting Reinold, the

¹⁴ This is similar to other romances. Mass conversion is a typical motif noted by Whitenack in medieval works (17).

infidel knights acknowledge the strength that comes to a warrior through Christ and embrace the faith. One of Reinold's companions, Filominiso, has an additional reason to request baptism, one that was not articulated by Salion or Tintinago. Deep in his heart Filominiso feels a true devotion to his new religion (*Reinaldos* 439). He sincerely recognizes the authority of the Christian faith, yet it is Reinold's strength that leads him to conversion.

While Reinold's companions convert out of loyalty and allegiance, the two giants Tirante and Balnaso have other motives: either sincere devotion or the recognition that power accompanies Christianity. After battling Reinold, the giant Tirante, like Frosina, acknowledges that Reinold is the most valiant knight he has ever known (*Reinaldos* 190) and is baptized (*Reinaldos* 211).¹⁵ Tirante converts in recognition of Reinold's strength and, again, the physical battle represents an ideological conflict.

Balnaso, on the other hand, has a different conversion experience. He not only recognizes the Christian's superior power, as does Tirante, but also expresses true religious fervor. During his baptism he is filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit. He is enlightened by God's love and affirms the truth of his new faith (*Reinaldos* 269–70). Balnaso combines awe for Reinold's prowess with sincere religious conversion. Other than Reinold's religious experience in his later years, Balnaso is one of the few – if not only other – openly devout character in the romance, and he lives a penitent life after conversion.

From the examples discussed, it can be concluded that conversion of women occurs mainly from love, as with Calidonia, and individual male and female warriors convert in response to the realization that a Christian knight commands extraordinary power.¹⁶ Reinold and his superior military strength are the catalyst for conversion. Yet there is another important aspect in the text. While the Saracens are portrayed as weak, evil action is attributed to Christians: in particular to Ganelon and the pope. Throughout the romance Ganelon is seen plotting against the French, to undermine their fight against the Saracens. He is willing to sacrifice the Christians, their lands and their cause for his own interests. Only at one point does he show himself to be a true Christian: while imprisoned with Reinold in Córdoba, he refuses to convert to Islam even though it might cost him his life (*Reinaldos* 106). This is a single moment of fidelity, for elsewhere in the romance Ganelon is described as treacherous and malicious. The pope, like

¹⁵ Sales Dasí notes the same motif and reason for conversion of the pagan other in the *Sergas de Esplandián* and *Florisando*: 'después de ser derrotados por el héroe o alguno de sus auxiliares reconocen la verdad y supremacía de la ley cristiana a la que acaban convirtiéndose' (148n32). Whitenack and Jones speak of the same commonplace, as noted above.

¹⁶ In 'The Moor in the Text', Burshatin sees this as well. He analyzes characteristics that relate to *Reinaldos* and conversion. Most striking are: the magnetic attraction of the Moorish female; the power of the Christian to convert the Saracen male, who recognizes the superior strength of the Christian warrior; and the riches gained by a maligned Christian hero through combat with the Moors.

Ganelon, is Reinold's foe, and even commits murder: poisoning Salion, an invited guest, and almost succeeding in murdering Reinold with the same tainted fruit (*Reinaldos* 271–2). While the Saracens kill in battle or in armed competition, Ganelon and the pope plot cold-blooded murder. Charlemagne also murders Tirante and Frosina, but he acts upon Ganelon's self-serving counsel (*Reinaldos* 213–14). Charlemagne's blind acceptance of Ganelon's advice brings the emperor to sin.

Evil is not, then, a unique characteristic of the pagans but is shared by Christians. Since Christians can be more diabolical than the infidels, conversion does not necessarily occur because of moral superiority.¹⁷ Nor does conversion necessarily result from religious fervor. Only one case, Balnaso, displays that quality of conversion, and even he is brought to consider conversion not by spiritual enlightenment but first by witnessing Reinold's prowess. Only after he meets Reinold and is inclined to accept baptism does divine inspiration fill his soul. Overall, conversion is initiated as an act of seeking strength; and in this Whitenack's statement that conversion in the translations as well as indigenous medieval works is based on power holds true for *Reinaldos*, although here it is not always attributable to intimidation but rather to the demonstration of true moral and physical superiority. Even Reinold himself states such as he rejects Tirante's and Trafata's attempt to convince him to join their forces and embrace the Islamic faith. Trafata uses the persuasive argument that Charlemagne has consistently mistreated the knight and that: 'Si tu te quieres tornar moro, seras el principal señor de toda la morisma. & mira tu qual imperio, soldanazgo, reyno o señorío mejor te parece. & tomale, que ninguno te lo contradira, antes todos te ayudaran por tu gran esfuerço. Y seras nuestro defensor & todos te seruiremos' (*Reinaldos* 187). Reinaldo emphatically rejects their 'vanas profertas' not for reasons of faith but for power. His strength stems from his Christianity and, as a result, he will defeat the enemies of his faith. He has no need to convert.

The same paradigm is continued in the third book of the *Reinaldos* romance, *Trapesonda*, where baptism and conversion are important aspects of Reinold's adventures. Subjugated leaders and warriors accept baptism as a sign of fealty, recognizing the superior power that Christianity brings the knight. In a typical example, Reinold, emperor of Trebizond, aids an infidel king to regain a kingdom that has been unjustly wrested from him. Reinold organizes and orchestrates the campaign. In the end, of course, Reinold restores the kingdom to its rightful heir, a grateful King Sanento, who then realizes the error of his ways. Sanento, seeing Reinold's generosity, nobility and power, renounces Islam and embraces Christianity, as do his family and household. The rest of the realm follows suit,

¹⁷ The same can be seen in other descriptions of Christians and Saracens. Dulin-Mallory concludes that 'Saracens [. . .] (though they are required to be baptized) can be good, and Christians [. . .] can be very wicked' (172). The same contrast is noted in the *Poema de mio Cid*, in the comparison of the treacherous Infantes de Carrión and the honorable Avengalvón (see, for example, Burshatin, 'The Docile Image').

either willingly or from fear (fol. 59r). This echoes what was seen in Books I–II, where conversion en masse was frequent: sometimes to maintain status and goods, sometimes to escape expulsion from the land.

In another instance, Ballano, a Saracen king defeated by Reinold, becomes a Christian upon seeing Reinold's magnificence as warrior and victor. After destroying the king's lands and territories and defeating him in single combat, Reinold treats Ballano with respect and spares his life. Ballano becomes Reinold's true vassal. Later, after defeating King Triamedeso, who has unjustly and treacherously imprisoned Reinold, Ballano converts to Christianity (fols 95v–96r).

In both situations the Emperor Reinold aids non-Christian leaders. The pagan kings cannot defend their land against aggressors without his help. The infidel warriors are weak on their own. When the Christian forces, led by Reinold, defeat the attacking enemy, the non-Christian other recognizes the Christians' superiority, and they and their family and vassals turn to that religion. Again, the superior prowess of Christian forces wins the ideological as well as physical battle, and not only the knights and leader accept baptism but family and company convert with them. As these few examples show, Book III repeats the reasons for conversion developed in the first two books: the other converts for love of and loyalty to Reinold, the victor or ally. Reinold is the arm of conversion as much in Book III as he was in Books I–II.

Even in death Reinold promotes conversion. The circumstances of his martyrdom and subsequent miracle are significant.

Ordenaron de lleuar se el cuerpo a Trapesonda y hazer le vna muy honrada yglesia como la de Sancta Sophia de Costantinopla. Y ordenaron vna muy gentil caxa donde lleuassen el sancto cuerpo. Despues *que* la caxa fue hecha, jamas pudieron mouer de aquel lugar el sancto cuerpo. Como esto vieron los valerosos señores, acordaron de hazer le vn muy rico offrecimiento. E muchos como vieron el grande milagro, se baptizaron & tornaron *christianos*.

(fol. 111r)¹⁸

In death, as in life, Reinold, the warrior and saint, manifests extraordinary qualities that bring non-believers to Christ.

There is one difference between the first two books and the third, however, that is striking. The word *cruzada*, not found in Books I or II, appears nineteen times in Book III.¹⁹ One instance will show its use. After Reinold's ambassadors

¹⁸ Citations are taken from the Seville 1533 edition printed by Juan Cromberger, now housed in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. 369A. The text is reproduced in semi-paleographic transcription, with expansion of abbreviations in italics and modern punctuation and capitalization.

¹⁹ In *Trapesonda*, *cruzada* appears on fols 18r4, 18r80, 51r68, 51v32, 52v92, 53r50, 53r63, 53r66, 53r71, 53r74, 53r81, 53v8, 53v15, 53v78, 54r23, 54r63, 54v55, 63r61, 63v81. The word *cruzados* appears three times on fols 53r68, 56v42 and 56v83.

come before the pope to request assistance in the fight against the Saracens, the pope grants help and calls a crusade in all the lands (fol. 53r). When the ambassadors arrive at Charlemagne's court to announce the crusade, those of the House of Maganza, Reinold's foes, try to thwart it (fol. 53v). Ganelon enters into the debate and whispers evil counsel to Charlemagne to encourage him to reject the pope's call, and the emperor sends Ganelon to Rome to convince the pope to retract the crusade. The pope believes Ganelon's lies and revokes the call to arms (fol. 54r).

Once again Ganelon works against the interests of the Christians. As in Books I and II, Ganelon is malicious, aids the other and plots against the faithful. And also as in Books I and II, the same structural motif occurs: the plot is revealed and Reinold foils Ganelon's plans. Reinold and those of his camp make the treachery known and save the Christians and also, in this case, the crusade. When the pope hears what Reinold's ambassadors say of Ganelon, he tries to confront him to learn the truth, only to find that he has fled (fol. 54v). Thus in Book III we see the continued characterization of Ganelon as Reinold's perennial enemy, whose hatred drives him to sacrifice Christendom to the Saracens.

The motifs in Books I–III are the same with respect to good vs. evil, Ganelon vs. Reinold. However, the use of the word *crusada* makes the actions of Book III more significant in terms of conversion. Reinold's activities in Books I–II exemplify a crusading mentality: to subjugate and convert the pagans; but in Book III Reinold's and the other Christians' activities are authorized by the Church and dubbed as crusade through the pope's official action.

As Whitenack noted (23), most of the translations do not seem to include conversion as one of the hero's principal missions. *Reinaldos*' striking insistence on the Christian vs. the other and emphasis on Christian superiority set it apart from many of the contemporary translations that follow medieval conversion, for while *Reinaldos* follows a model of power, it also describes examples of devote conversion and ends with Reinold's saintly life. In this, it more resembles indigenous works, which, as Whitenack argues, emphasize conversion. Moreover, with an emphasis on religion and the attempt to bring others to Christ, *Reinaldos* is reminiscent of the romances discussed by Heng where conversion is *translatio*. Heng concludes that conversion 'is a rich trope that exercises the full might and powerfully nuanced authority of religious discourse as cultural discourse: announcing, in effect, the arrival and existence of an empire of culture' (188). It becomes a powerful tool to create a cultural as well as a military empire. And conquest and conversion in *Reinaldos* literally transfer power and land to Christian domain in a cultural colonization, which confers authority and supremacy on Christendom.

While emphasis on conversion in the Spanish *Reinaldos* is significant, it must be acknowledged that, as the above analysis has shown, the representation of the other and the motifs of conversion are not unique to the text, and similar elements can be found in pan-European epic and romance. With regard to the representation of the other and its rich treasures and gods, *Reinaldos* not only forms part of a broad literary tradition but also generally follows the Italian source throughout. The representation is not significantly altered. That said, it also must be

noted that as the poetic *Innamoramento* is translated into prose, a considerable amplification occurs. One example is the description of Balisandra being tutored by the ladies while she travels to France, which is negligible in the Italian but found in the Castilian text. Similarly in Fauarda's conversion, all aspects of her marriage to Salion, her rejection of the weak Carmelo and her treachery against her mother are present in the Italian, but with a slight difference in emphasis.²⁰ In the *Innamoramento* (fol.f^{7r}), Fanarda rejects her family and religion in a fairly brief discourse, while in the Castilian Fauarda speaks extensively to explain her conversion and faith.²¹ The actions are the same, but detail is added. The same can be said of the conversions of Calidonia, Tirante, Balnaso and others. Thus the presence of conversion in *Reinaldos* is distinct in that it expands the discourse as it turns poetry into prose.²²

Reinaldos, then, is not rewriting but rather glossing its source. And while the portrayal that it creates is not unique in European letters, it is noteworthy that the Castilian version finds its voice in the first decades of the sixteenth century.²³ The first publication coincides chronologically with a cultural concern for hegemony due to the *converso* and *morisco* populations in the country, on the one hand, and the battles against the Turks in the western Mediterranean on the other. It is perhaps not coincidental that a romance that highlights conversion finds success in the Peninsula precisely at such a cultural-political moment.

In conclusion, it has been shown that many of the chivalric romances published during the early sixteenth century – and even before – reflect the crusade/imperial ideal (Heng, Ramos Nogales, Corfis 'Empire'). Whitenack describes the Castilian texts' success in terms of their 'connections with contemporaneous Castilian and Catalan concerns [. . .] of eradicating the "malas costumbres" of non-Christians, and the growing suspicion of recent converts' (37), as well as their appeal to a world of exploration. Romance was an apt means

²⁰ In the Italian text the woman's name is *Fanarda*. All early Spanish versions read *Fauarda*.

²¹ References are taken from the Venice: Georges Walch d'Allemagne, 1481 edition, housed in the University of Pennsylvania Library, Special Collections, Goff C-204.

²² König reaches the same conclusion regarding other Castilian translations of the Italian *cantari*: the Spanish works contain unique characteristics resulting from adapting poetry to prose, expanding the narrative and content of various episodes to create an altered discourse through translation. In particular what he says regarding *Trapesonda* applies to *Reinaldos* overall: 'Si comparamos rápidamente algunos fragmentos de la *Trapesonda* en versos italianos con su versión en prosa castellana, vemos en seguida que la adaptación, en todos los ejemplos, ocupa más espacio. La razón es muy simple: con la pérdida de la segmentación regular y de la rima, el texto se desacelera, y el traductor-adaptador tiende a explicar más detenidamente lo que ocurre, y el porqué de las acciones y reacciones de los personajes' (192). The conversion elements are expanded to provide more explanation and detail.

²³ The first recorded Spanish edition is from 1513; then three editions appear in the 1520s, with subsequent editions in 1535, 1545, 1564 and 1585.

to convey lessons of unity, since 'it fed the fantasies of aspiring warriors' and because 'unified Christian military action of the crusader variety was the only plausible means of dealing with current threats' (Whitenack 38). And the crusade is central to the knight's activities in *Reinaldos*. People convert for love or power, and whole armies and/or families convert upon subjugation. While Catholic faith may be offered as a reason for conversion, the knight, who represents an arm of Christianity in subduing the infidels, is the force that brings the other to Christ. However, not all convert solely for power or material gain. Once the knight leads them to conversion, some do have true religious experiences and embrace their new faith with fervor. Through conversion, texts such as *Reinaldos* and *Trapesonda* reflect the Peninsular desire to convert the other, at both home and abroad, and bring new lands under Christian rule.

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Part 3: TRANSMISSION OF LEARNING
AND TEXTS IN CHANGING CULTURES

Hermes Trismegistus in *General Estoria II*

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In Part II of Alfonso el Sabio's *General Estoria* (henceforth *GE*) there is a notable sequence of chapters dedicated to the great 'father of philosophers', Hermes Trismegistus (1:34–9). The main significance of this narrative lies in the fact that elsewhere in this chronicle Alfonso and his collaborators display a strong interest in Hermetic philosophy; in the early portions of Part I in particular there are passages in which Hermetic ideas seem to provide a sort of theological background to the story at hand. One could say that the episode in Part II seems to say openly what is implied earlier in *GE*. Hermeticism is, so to speak, put on full view (Fraker 171–221). In this study I will not review in general the question of Hermeticism in Alfonso, but I do believe it worthwhile to return to the Hermes narrative itself. We will look at the layout of the narrative in some detail and will explore the episode's literary background.

I will begin with a summary of these five chapters and discuss some of the difficulties they pose. It is not an easy passage to study. The *auctoritates* it is based on are sometimes hard to identify, and what is more, they seem to be badly coordinated; witness the obscurities and plain contradictions that confront us here. One anomaly appears immediately. The heading to chapter 18: 'Del philosopho Tat, que ouo nombre Hermes, e fue fijo del otro Hermes Trimegisto, e fue Mercurio' (1:34). This has scarcely anything to do with what follows. The chapter is not about Tat, but about his father, Hermes–Mercury. Alfonso tells us that there are three Hermes, but the second, Tat, is never mentioned again, and of the third we are told nothing at all. To complicate things even more, in chapter 20, as we shall see, the editors make a new start and identify Hermes the First with the saintly Enoch, son of Jared, as in Genesis 5.

After serving up a bit of geography, the principal narrator begins his story. He cites a book by a certain wise man, Esculapio – Esculapio is, of course, Castilian for Aesculapius in Latin and Asklepios in Greek. Esculapio's text is ostensibly about the seven great mountains in the world, but the real subject of the work is a second book in his possession, a mysterious text written in a strange alphabet; Esculapio, needless to say, cannot understand a single word. This second book is not an unimportant one; it is by Hermes himself, 'el grant philosopho que uos auemos dicho' (1:35). In time Esculapio finds a possible interpreter; he meets a woman of great age from Chaldea, of the race of the giants; she recognizes the

alphabet as the one in use among her own people. Her name is Gogligobon and she is the niece of the giant Nimrod, who in the *GE* version is himself the builder of the Tower of Babel, constructed as a hedge against a possible second Flood (cf. Petrus Comestor 1089).¹ The conversations between the woman and Esculapio range wide, but in time she begins her account of the deeds and accomplishments of her own people. From that point on the greater part of our narrative is told in her voice.

Who exactly are these giants? The most obvious answer is that they are semi-biblical relatives and contemporaries of the 'mighty man' Nimrod. But is Nimrod a giant at all? The Vulgate calls Nimrod 'robustus vir' ('robust man'), and Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* uses similar language (Book I, chapter 4); neither text suggests that he is other than of normal size.² It is true that Petrus Comestor makes him a 'giant ten cubits tall', 'gigas decem cubitorum' (1088). But there is another motive here. The fact is that the *GE* assimilates Nimrod and his tribe to the Giants-Titans of ancient mythology. Here it is important to note that for Alfonso and many of his contemporaries the gods and heroes of mythology are sometimes treated as perfectly historical persons. We must observe also that the builders of the Tower of Babel and the Titans who stormed heaven are alike supposed to be hateful to their respective higher divinities, but, for a fact, the *GE* says nothing here of this divine disapproval; most obviously, the text says nothing about God's wrath towards the builders of the Tower.

In time Gogligobon's narrative comes to an end, and the principal narrator again takes over. We are told that seven giants are buried under seven great mountains, each of which is named in honor of the giant entombed there. The giants' names are, with one possible exception, not biblical. One giant's name is Araban; he gives his name to Mount Ararat, in Armenia. But Alpiel gives his name to the Alps (in India!). Mostly the names of the giants are as fantastic as those of the corresponding mountains, but in one case we do have a certified Titan, Athlas; what is more, 'so mont es a parte de medio dia de parte de occident, et dizen le el monte Athlant' (1:38). It is possible that the connection giants-mountains stems from what could be called legitimate myth. Twice in the First Vatican Mythographer we read of giants buried under mountains for punishment; in one case (*Scriptores* 29), Typhaeus is buried under Aetna; and in the other (*Scriptores* 4), all but one of the whole guilty tribe of giants are thrust under the same volcano.

In fact, the link between Alfonso's giants in the Hermes narrative and the Titans or mythical giants is forged in a passage in Part I (42). After an idiosyncratic version of the story of Nimrod and the building of the Tower of Babel, the compilers cite the authority of Ovid himself and assimilate Nimrod and his collaborators to the giants in Book I of the *Metamorphoses* (verses 151–62), who set out to cast the gods out of heaven and to take over that blissful place for

¹ References are to columns rather than pages.

² I cite Josephus' history by book and chapter.

themselves.³ The editors Christianize the episode by identifying the gods with the angels. Alfonso also supplies a motive for the giants' project; as in the case of Nimrod in Part II, it is to protect themselves from the threat of a possible universal flood.

It should be pointed out that the passage in *GE I* is very severe with the actors in this scene: the giants, Nimrod and his allies. This is significant because the passage on Hermes in *GE II*, by contrast, treats the giants very favorably. Here Alfonso's giants are civilizing heroes, inventors of great arts, liberal and mechanical. According to Gogligobon, 'ellos fueron los primeros omnes que mesuraron los cursos de las estrellas e los mouimientos de los çielos, e lo sopieron todo, et connoscieron el poder e las naturas de los quatro elementos' (1:36–7); in other words, they mastered, indeed invented, astrology and natural philosophy. They also cultivated practical arts, but pursued them with greater subtlety than their predecessors. They produced splendid buildings of all kinds and were able to judge what natural sites were most suitable for the building of cities; they built roads so the new settlements could communicate with each other. More specialized crafts were developed: carpentry, agriculture, metallurgy. Who invented the last? Some say Tubalcain, others Vulcan. Alfonso confuses us here. Each of the two civilizing heroes has one mark against him. Tubalcain lived before the Flood and so could hardly consort with Nimrod and his crew, and Vulcan is on record as being an enemy of the Titans; the First Vatican Mythographer makes him an ally of Jupiter and the heavenly gods in the battle with the giants (*Scriptores* 4). Obviously neither Tubalcain nor Vulcan in any way fits Alfonso's giants.

Gogligobon generalizes: 'Estos gigantes fueron las yentes de que fablan los philosophos e los otros sabios, que eran muy grandes, e ouieron grant saber, e grant entendimiento e uertud muy poderosa' (1:37). This is but a preparation for Gogligobon's account of Hermes himself, here identified with Enoch, son of Jared (Genesis 5): 'et ninguno non deue dubdar que Enoch, el que fue dicho Hermes e fue padre de todos los philosophos, que non fue del linage de los gigantes de padre e de madre, maguer que non fue de grant cuerpo como ellos' (1:37). The *GE* is in one aspect a patchwork of *auctoritates* and the text here depends on a Muslim source that identifies Hermes with Idris, who is the Koranic equivalent to the Enoch of Genesis 5 (Fraker 175). The *GE* declares that Hermes–Enoch spent thirty years in the heavens contemplating their movements, a distinctively Muslim motif. Genesis says of Enoch: 'He walked with God, and he was not, for God took him' (5:24). Christians, and later Muslims, turned this verse into the story of a holy man who was taken body and soul into heaven; the motif of the thirty years' sojourn in heaven marks the assimilation of Enoch to the Muslim Hermes. Here is the *GE*'s account:

Este Hermes fue aquel que mayor uoluntad ouo, e mayor sabor e mayor poder de uuscar en este mundo todos los saberes de las cosas de suso del cielo e de

³ I cite *Metamorphoses* by book and verse.

las cosas de yuso de la tierra, et por end dixieron algunos dell, que morara de suso mas de treynta annos, e que alla aprendio todo el saber del cielo e que dalla le sopo. (1:37)

Obviously, the equivalence Hermes–Enoch is at odds with the *GE*’s earlier identification of Hermes with Mercury, son of Jupiter. What is more, the Enoch connection here raises the same difficulty posed by the mention of Tubalcain; both he and Enoch lived before the Flood, and it is hard to see how the latter could have been on the scene in the days of Nimrod.

Gogligobon’s discourse ends with the notorious seven mountains. After she has finished, Esculapio asks her directly about Hermes’ book and about the characters in which it is written, how they may be combined and most importantly of all, what wisdom they contain: ‘que saber auie en ellas [las letras], o que uertud’ (1:39). Gogligobon’s account of the characters is obscure. Apparently they are copied from certain configurations of stars: in some cases of groups of three, in others of four. What is certain is that there are twenty-four letters in all. One group of seven characters signifies the seven planets and their spheres. This set gets rounded out to eight if we add the ‘cola del dragon’. The Dragon’s Tail is not a star, but a recurring event: the moon’s crossing of the equator from north to south; the position of this occurrence on the zodiacal band is thought to be every bit as significant as that of a planet (Tester 121–2). The other sixteen characters represent the twelve signs of the zodiac and the four elements. We should make no mistake about it; this is an exhaustive list. If we consider the zodiacal band as simply the most active and powerful part of the sphere of the fixed stars, we end up with everything, the whole cosmos. What is the actual message of the book written in these formidable characters? It is hardly less global: it is about the past and the future, in a word, about everything that happens on earth.

So much, then, for the summary–survey. We pass now to three critical problems posed by the Hermes narrative: first, the question of the identity of Hermes himself, including the triplicity, the fact that there are supposed to be three Hermes, and that Tat is one of these; second, the role of the giants as depositories of knowledge, especially of secret knowledge; and third, the actual contents of Hermes’ book. We begin with the matter of Hermes’ identity. We recall that although Alfonso mentions three Hermes, he writes about only one, the first. The Alfonsine Hermes starts out as Mercury, son of Jupiter, but later becomes Enoch, son of Jared. The connection to Mercury is straightforward and traditional. The information Alfonso offers about him is substantially the same as that in modern manuals of mythology. Mercury, as the *GE* says, was thought to be the god of merchants; we are further told that the name Mercury actually means ‘god of merchants’: ‘quiere este nonbre dezir tanto como dios de los mercadores’ (1:34). He is also said to be the god of the trivium: the three liberal arts of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric; this distinction won him the name Trismegistus (‘Trimegisto’; 1:35). The Third Vatican Mythographer has much the same information. Mercury is the god of speech and eloquence: ‘sermonis [. . .] et eloquentiae deum’. He is also the divine protector of merchants. The text actually

gives us the etymology of the name Mercury as ‘mercatorum kyron’ (the latter word in Greek characters), that is, the lord of merchants: ‘mercatorum [. . .] dominum’ (*Scriptores* 213). This derivation of course justifies Alfonso’s claim that the name means ‘god of merchants’.

The text of the *GE* stretches ‘eloquentia’, in the quotation above, to cover all three trivial arts. The First Vatican Mythographer gives the epithet ‘Trismegistus’ and its justification. He starts by offering an etymology of the name ‘Hermes’ – ‘apo tis hermeneias’, which in Latin means ‘interpreter’: ‘Latine interpres’. Because of this and because of his knowledge of multiple arts, he is called Trismegistus: ‘thrice great’ (*Scriptores* 38). This justification of the title is, incidentally, very far from being the only one. At least two closely related medieval Latin sources have a different version. The *Liber Hermetis Mercurii triplicis* and its immediate source for the information, the Latin *Morienus*, say, first of all, that the Thrice Great is not the first Hermes but the third; he is so-called because he is at once philosopher, king and prophet (Silverstein 247).

The question of the mobility, so to speak, of the epithet ‘Trismegistus’ leads us inevitably to the matter of Hermes’ triplicity, the fact that he is not one, but three. For Alfonso, as we know, Hermes I is called Trismegistus; Hermes II is the son of Hermes I and is called Tat; and Hermes III has no special name and is not characterized in any way at all. I can find no parallel to this scheme either in ancient Hermetic literature or in Islamic or in Christian medieval Hermetic texts. However the sequence Hermes Trismegistus–Hermes Tat is almost certainly traditional. First of all, quite a number of ancient Hermetic devotional texts do speak of Tat as a privileged disciple of Hermes Thrice Great (Copenhaver 133 lists the allusions to Tat in the *Corpus hermeticum*). What is more, one ancient text, Pseudo-Manetho, quoted by the Byzantine monk George Syncellus, says that Tat is at once the son of Hermes Thrice Great and a Hermes in his own right (Copenhaver xv–xvi). But in this account Hermes Trismegistus is not the first of the three, but the second; the first is the second Hermes’ grandfather. This last motif is preserved in the Latin *Asclepius*, section 37 (translation in Copenhaver 90), and in Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*, Book 18, chapter 39. I cannot say how the first motif, the sequence Hermes Trismegistus–Hermes Tat, found its way into the Alfonsine repertory from such remote sources.

As we recall, the *GE*’s second version of Hermes I equates him with Enoch. It is important to note that the biblicization – and later, the koranization – of Hermes is what could be called a major industry from late Antiquity to the Muslim and Christian Middle Ages. Let us now look at two versions of the three-Hermes story that are unlike the *GE*’s version but do have in common with Alfonso that they equate Hermes I to Enoch. The *Liber Hermetis*, above mentioned, and its predecessor the Latin *Morienus* both make Enoch the first Hermes, Noah the second and the third an unnamed king of Egypt who was eminent in the liberal and mechanical arts and was the first to teach astronomy: ‘in liberalibus et mechanicis artibus preualuit et astronomiam prius elucidauit’ (Silverstein 247; the dependence of this passage on the *Morienus* is explained on p. 218). The ninth-century Arab astrologer and natural philosopher Abu Ma’shar

has a more complicated scheme. Hermes is a proper noun turned common; it is like Caesar, applicable to many persons. The first Hermes lived before the Flood, and among other things he invented writing and instituted the worship of the true God, built temples, knew astronomy and invented medicine. The second, post-diluvian, lived in Chaldea, invented mathematics and was Pythagoras' teacher; he also was able to recover the high knowledge and science of the antediluvians. The third Hermes, who lived in Egypt, was skilled in medicine and alchemy as well as in surveying and city planning. The first Hermes had many different names; the Jews call him Enoch, and he was the grandson of Adam, (*Kitab al-uluf*, translated and quoted in Plessner 51–2). This whole account, incidentally, is the standard Muslim version of the three Hermes. Also traditional among Muslims is Hermes' title – the same one so dear to the Alfonsine version – 'father of philosophers' (Nasr 106). We should note also that Abu Ma'shar's version of Hermes I is very similar to the vita of Hermes – the one and only – found in the work known in Spanish as *Bocados de oro* (*Bocados* 5), which is quoted in the second of the Alfonsine *Siete partidas*; in other words, the *Bocados*' very significant text on Hermes was perfectly accessible within Alfonso's circle (*Bocados* xxi).

Do Abu Ma'shar's account and others like it tell us anything about the *GE*'s lines on Hermes and the giants? The differences between the two versions are too obvious to mention, but Abu Ma'shar and Alfonso do have a common theme, the pairing of liberal with practical knowledge, and the strong editorial approval of both. In the Arabic version this theme is spread out over the three Hermes; in the *GE* account, over Hermes–Enoch and the giants. There is astronomy, natural philosophy and mathematics on one hand and medicine, road building and surveying on the other, and the same heroic founders are accomplished in both areas. It is dangerous to speak in generalities, but it does strike one that this pairing of interests is more Muslim than Christian. The theme is notoriously Hermetic, and one could say that until the Renaissance, Hermeticism bloomed more vigorously in Muslim lands than in Christian. Now as we shall see, the literary background of the *GE*'s lines on the giants is less obscure than one might guess. But the question of what source, Muslim or otherwise, was before the Alfonsine editors when they wrote that the giants were expert in both astronomy and road building is one I cannot answer. What is certain is that the great theme, the equal value of things liberal and mechanical-practical, is very Alfonsine. The best witness to this fact is a passage early in the Part I of the *GE* on the ways of early humankind (61–8). Details in this set of chapters are indeed traceable to one or another *auctor*, but the whole conception underlying the passage is original, and remarkably so. On one hand, it is about the rise of religion from the grossest superstition to the rational monotheism the text attributes to Abraham, but on the other, it tells of the rise of material culture, from that of cave dwellers to that of the most sophisticated, marked by splendid buildings, craftsmanship in items of luxury and the rest. These lines say not a word about Hermes or anything overtly Hermetic, but, as I believe, the conception that underlies them is distinctive; most plausibly they have some sort of link to Hermeticism and Hermetic ideas.

In the *GE II* narrative the giants, learned as they are in things heavenly and earthly, are the depositories of a wonderful secret, the contents of Hermes' mysterious book. He is, after all, a member of their race. The volume is written in their alphabet and in their language; the text is intelligible to them as it is to virtually no one else. The special role of the giants in our narrative makes up our second critical area. I will begin by citing the authority of one of the masterpieces of twentieth-century scholarship, the *Révélation faite à Hermès Trismégiste* by Festugière. Hermeticism is, as we should recall, not only a body of doctrines but a narrative, or a collection of narratives, about Hermes, about Asclepius, and so on. As Festugière points out, one of the *topoi* in this mythology is that of a mysterious text, an ancient book hidden for generations, perhaps written in an unknown language. Two of Festugière's examples are taken from a late Antique collection of writings on astrological medicine, the *Kyranides*. The special interest for us of this body of texts is that it was translated into Latin in the twelfth century and so might have been accessible to Alfonso and his contemporaries. I will reproduce two passages quoted in *Révélation*, the second extensively. In one text the principal narrator tells us that 'he found the volumes of *Kyranides* in the Trojan city enclosed with the body of the first king of Kyranis; the volume was entitled "golden booklet"' (Festugière 1:203; Delatte 213). The second text, more interesting to us, is not strictly speaking about a book, but about an inscription on a stele. I will quote it at length; it is the prologue to one of the treatises:

I happened to meet an old man who was very learned in Greek and foreign letters. He said he was Syrian but had been taken captive, and his residence was here [the context implies 'in Seleucia']. The old man took me on a tour of the town, and he showed me everything. When we got to a spot four miles away from the city, we saw close at hand a large tower, a column, which the dwellers in Syria [= Assyria, according to Festugière] said had been brought and placed there for the health and well-being of the inhabitants of the town. And looking closely I saw that this column had on it an inscription in foreign characters. After I asked the old man, he immediately consented to explain the whole matter, and I listened to his account as well as to this translation, which he willingly made into plain Greek from the barbarian text. He said: 'You see, my son, the disposition of these three towers; the first is five miles away, the second, two and a half miles, and the third, four miles. They were built by the giants when they wished to climb up to the heavens. It is, be it said, [in punishment] for this madness and impiety that some were struck by lightning, some were by the judgment of God driven mad; God in his wrath cast the rest down to the island of Crete.' The old man who explained these things to me ordered me to measure the dimensions of the stone [of the tower]. So I measured the one that was closest and found that it was 32 cubits high and 78 broad. It had a stairway with 208 steps. We also saw the sacred enclosure in the middle of which there was a temple with a stairway with 365 steps, all done in silver [. . .]. We knelt down to pray to God, while the old man revealed to me the mysteries of the divine power, which I must not divulge. As for me, in spite of my desire to know further in this matter, I put that off for another day and asked only about the column. The old man, then, moving aside a kettle of byssus [*sic*: 'auferens

cortinam byssinam’], showed me the inscription in foreign letters. Since he knew my language, I asked him, indeed begged him, to explain the text without digressions and without jealousy. Here, then, is what was written on the column. (Festugière 1:322–3; Delatte 15–17, translation mine)

There follow two short pieces in verse: the first, some lines on the principles of astrological medicine – the subject of *Kyranides*; the second, a short sermon on necessity and fate, the thralldom of the soul in this life and its liberation in the next.

What we should notice about these two texts is that they both affirm the deep antiquity of a body of knowledge and practice that is entirely contemporary. *Kyranides*, as I have said, is a group of writings on astrological medicine, a matter of practical interest to its late Antique readers and its medieval ones alike, and both narratives in effect give dignity to this theory and practice by giving it a remote and mysterious origin. The verses on fate and necessity are there to remind us that devotional and practical Hermeticism are never far apart. We could also say of this piece that it links present disposition to an ancient past: the *contemptus mundi* recommended for today was taught by the giants at the dawn of history.

In the *GE*’s passage on the giants – and indeed elsewhere in the work –, present and past are linked in much the same way they are in *Kyranides*. The contemporary science that gets projected onto a legendary past is a very general one: natural philosophy. The mighty men know the ways of the stars and know also the powers and virtues of the four elements. The *GE II* tells us of their accomplishments in a hasty allusion to some very common notions. The play of the heavenly stars influences things and events on earth, and the elements so influenced produce all natural kinds here below, animate and inanimate. This is the contemporary lore for which the Alfonsine text claims antiquity.

Is there some narrower sense in which our selections from *Kyranides* and the Alfonsine history run parallel? The answer seems obvious. Gogligobon’s narrative along with her interpretation of Hermes’ book is in many ways very much like the story in the older text about the old man, the pillars and the giants. Esculapio in the *GE*, like the principal narrator in *Kyranides*, is confronted by an unreadable text, and in both cases the subject meets an aged person of great authority who is of the same race as the author or authors of the text; he or she can read it without difficulty. Both tell the narrator important things about the ancient tribe, and both end translating the miraculous text. In both cases the ancient race is of giants; Gogligobon is one herself, and the old man, although he is of normal size, is Assyrian like them. Towers and the scaling of great heights figure large in both stories; the giants in *Kyranides* wish to mount to heaven, while Nimrod and his allies mean to avoid a possible second Flood.

I remarked earlier that in Gogligobon’s narrative the editors leave out everything that might put the giants in a bad light; this is, as I noted, remarkable, since the same characters, Nimrod and the builders of the Tower of Babel, are treated very severely in *GE I*. What is more, Genesis itself says plainly that the building of the tower was hateful to God. I also pointed out that *GE I* and *II* alike assimilate

Nimrod and his cohorts to the Giants–Titans of ancient myth. Both these facts, I think, have a bearing on the matter at hand. In the first place, the compilers of *Kyranides* seem to make something of the same assimilation of myth to Scripture as do the editors of *GE*. In the older text the war of the Titans against the heavenly gods is forgotten. There is only God, unique and solitary, and His wrath. We should remember, by the way, that the passage on the giants in *GE I* does not entirely exclude polytheism; here Ovid's battle scene is retained, Christianized only by turning the dwellers of heaven into angels. Finally we should note that the motif of the scaling of heaven is not un-biblical; the arrogance of the builders of the Tower in Genesis in great part lies in precisely this aspiration upwards – 'let us build [. . .] a tower with its top in the heavens' (11:4). *Kyranides* does indeed speak of the madness and impiety of the giants, and what is more, *GE I* does much the same. The suppression of the theme in the Hermes narrative is thus almost certainly an initiative of the compilers; the source, whatever that might be, may well have spoken of the wickedness of the giants. If, then, we should restore this element to the Hermes narrative, that account and the one in *Kyranides* might look very much alike.

How are our two texts related historically? There is no easy answer to this question. The differences between them are notable, and it is implausible to attribute all the distinctive marks of the *GE* story of the giants simply to editorial tampering. The likeliest is, perhaps, that there is an intermediate source, possibly one that biblicalized the story in *Kyranides*, bringing in Nimrod, Babel and Enoch. What is certain is that the relationship between the two texts is genuine; the editors of the *GE* and the compilers of *Kyranides* were not simply drawing from a common fund of topoi. This dependence is manifest if we go on to the last motif in the Hermes narrative and to our third critical problem, the contents of this remarkable book. The mysterious text is about the Past and the Future. This is a very distinctive message; it is by no means easy to find a parallel text. The theme past–future is simply not a topic that migrates easily or turns up in many places.

What exactly is written on the stele? What is the secret teaching the narrator in *Kyranides* so fervently wishes to know? It is contained in the two pieces of verse that follow the narrative. In the Latin version these are reduced to prose. Here is the first:

Stylis ferreis sculpta sunt haec et quaecumque prius fuerunt et futura sunt, aequaliter coniugata in virtutibus lapidum, cum eis simul et plantae terrae et pisces profundi et volucres aerae: temperans virtutem virtuti in quaternario maiori.

[On the pillar] the following is carved with iron chisels, both whatever things have already happened and [whatever things] are yet to be, [both] are alike bound up with the virtues of rocks, of the plants of the earth, of the fishes of the deep and of the birds of the air, one virtue tempering another within the great quaternity [of the four elements?]. (Delatte 17; translation mine)

Here it is. Past and future; surely this is what we have been looking for. Could the message written on the column possibly be the same as the one contained in

Hermes' book? Let us try to understand first of all what the virtues mentioned in the text are and how it is that they shape past and future. Obviously, these powers have nothing whatever to do with any physical qualities we might today attribute to rocks, plants and so on. To see what is meant here it is best to follow the text whither it leads.

Some bibliography first. The Latin translator of *Kyranides* tells us that Book I, the first of four, is a blend of two works, *Kyranis*, named for its supposed author, a legendary king of Persia, and a book by a perfectly historical Harpocraton of Alexandria, addressed to his daughter (Delatte 13). The narrative about the giants and the inscription on the pillar, along with the two bits of verse that follow originally made up the prologue to Harpocraton's book, but in the Latin they are the introduction to the definitive blended text.

Book I is organized as follows. For every letter of the Greek alphabet – each is reproduced in the Latin – there is a text which tells of the 'virtues' of one rock, one plant, one fish and one bird, each chosen because their Greek names begin with the letter in question. The distinctive virtue of each rock, each plant and so on is effective in curing a particular human malady or in some cases in producing a pleasant, non-medical outcome. Each material involved is effective in its own way. Some are ingested, some are applied to the ailing part, while in other cases stranger remedies are indicated: amulets, incantations or words addressed to the healing object. Festugière has suggested that the very arrangement of the book has a significance of its own. Each letter might itself have its own distinctive virtue, and the creatures under each letter-heading might have an affinity to the letter and to each other (1:202). He also believes that the four species – rock, plant, fish, bird – somehow correspond to the four elements (1:208). The text only hints at these things, but one could say that a catalogue of 'virtues' would be organized in such an apparently arbitrary way, and its materials selected on such a narrow basis, only if some large and significant plan were in place.

The Latin translator sums up the contents of Book I. It is about 24 stones, 24 plants, 24 fishes and 24 birds.

The virtues of each of these are blended and mixed with the virtues of the others, and all are equally effective in curing the mortal body and in the [production of] pleasure. All this is the invention of nature, [and this in turn is all] from God Almighty and is [produced] through His wisdom; this natural activity includes the powers of plants, fishes and birds, the virtues of rocks, the nature of animals and beasts, and what is more, the reciprocal mixtures, oppositions and properties. [All this is accessible to our minds] insofar as knowledge and abilities in many areas come to men from above. (Delatte 14; translation mine)⁴

These lines combined with the supposed inscription in the pillar give expression to a fairly consistent and comprehensive physical theory. Certain objects in nature have each a distinctive power. Some of these have an affinity with each

⁴ The Latin is very elliptical; in my translation I have tried to fill in some of the missing links.

other; others are in opposition. Singly or in combination these virtues may be harnessed by humans to produce certain good results, largely medical ones. But left to themselves these powers interacting with one another determine very nearly everything that happens on earth. Now is this a self-sufficient theory? Do these supposed virtues of rocks, plants and animals stand by themselves? If we read further in the Latin text, the answer seems to be no. The Latin translator signals as much to his patron in the letter of dedication; the recipient of the volume is urged to turn his eyes heavenward. The compiler recommends strongly that the dedicatee read in connection with *Kyranides* a book on seven plants and seven planets, another on seven plants and seven fixed stars and a third on twelve plants and the twelve signs of the zodiac (Delatte 14). The message is clear. The virtues of minerals, plants and animals have their cause and origin in the heavens, in the zodiacal band, in the other fixed stars and in the planets. It hardly needs to be pointed out that these notions about the correspondence between things in the heavens and those on earth are completely commonplace. Neither the recipient nor any of his learned contemporaries needs to be told that things here below are influenced and directed by the stars. The broad premise is, of course, that the cosmos is an organic whole, sustained by the cooperation of all its parts, and that the parallelism of things heavenly and earthly is part of this harmony (Tester 22–3).

Here our story ends. Esculapio's account of the contents of Hermes' book is very brief; it leaves out much of the detail offered by *Kyranides*. But Hermes' teaching plainly alludes to the same cosmos as that of 'Kyranis' or Harpocraton. The signs of the zodiac, the seven planets, the Dragon's Tail and the four elements conspire to produce past and future. One would only have to add a few motifs more, that the heavenly bodies move the elements to produce all natural kinds, and that each of these possesses its distinctive virtue, and finally that all of them together determine the flow of events within time. Now Book I of *Kyranides* (and indeed Books II–IV) is organized around the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet; if we follow Festugière, we would add that each has a special significance. Hermes' book is also written in an alphabet with twenty-four characters, letters which are also significant, but unlike *Kyranides* the Hermes book actually tells us what the significance is. In a word, here, as in the *GE*'s passage on the giants, the parallels between Alfonso's text and parts of *Kyranides* are striking; it is hard to believe that they are accidental.

I conclude with a note on *Kyranides* in Spain. Delatte includes in his volume an edition of an Old French text, *Livre des secrez de la nature*. The prologue to his work says plainly that a Latin translation of *Kyranides* was made at the order of 'the very noble King Alfonso of Spain': 'il [*Kyranides*] vint a la notice du noble roy Alfons d Espagne le quel le fit translater de grec en latin' (Delatte 293). Delatte asks, as we might, if the 'noble roy' could possibly be Alfonso the Learned himself. But in fact he settles instead on Alfonso VIII of Castile, 'Alfonso el noble', who reigned from 1158 to 1214. This translation, if it existed, would thus be roughly contemporary with the one we now possess, made in Constantinople in 1169 (Delatte 294). This earlier date for the translation is plausible for reasons Delatte does not mention. On one hand, Alfonso X was not at all noted for his

patronage of translations into Latin, but on the other, the years of the reign of Alfonso VIII were precisely those during which, in Toledo above all but also elsewhere in Spain, translations into Latin were made of important philosophical and scientific texts of all kinds. The version of *Kyranides* might well have been one of these. It is not, therefore, simple fantasy to imagine that Alfonso, the compiler of the *GE*, could have known this text.

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Pharmaceutical Fictions: Celestina's Laboratory and the Sixteenth-Century Medical Imaginary

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In a curious and lengthy dialogue in Fernando de Rojas' *Celestina*, Pármeno offers his love-struck master an extensive list of herbs, minerals, animal parts and sundry concoctions that the go-between Celestina stores or manufactures in her dilapidated shack by the river (Rojas 34–9).¹ While Celestina knocks on Calisto's door, a concerned Pármeno inventories more than one hundred substances and alludes to the fact that there are thousands more on Celestina's shelves. Some of these are common and seemingly benign, such as perfumes, oils and ointments made from jasmine, lemons and rosemary; others are notably arcane, such as a viper's tongue, stones from an eagle's nest, a quantity of quail heads and a hangman's rope.² Within the diegesis, Pármeno's objective is twofold; he wants to prove that he has firsthand knowledge of Celestina's illicit practices, and by extension, he hopes to dissuade Calisto from employing Celestina as mediator for his pathologized amorous desire. The strategy, however, fails to convince Calisto, who quickly dismisses Pármeno's objections and orders his servant to let the aging bawd enter.

Pármeno's lengthy disclosure of the materials in Celestina's laboratory not only fails to discourage his master, but also may have unwittingly captured Calisto's imagination by insinuating that Celestina, with her enormous, well-stocked laboratory, is ideally suited to concoct tangible remedies for his condition. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are a period of expanding interest in the discovery, creation and dissemination of new pharmaceutical remedies. Accounts of marvelous drugs from the New World and novel sixteenth-century drugs from innovating combinations of well-known materials stimulated the popular imagination, encouraging patients to project their future health in the acquisition and consumption of these medicines. Medical authorities, however, greeted the enthusiasm towards pharmaceuticals with skepticism and sought to

¹ All page references to *Celestina* are taken from Marciales' edition.

² An annotated glossary of the materials in Celestina's laboratory appears in the final section of Laza Palacios' study.

control the public's use of drugs and those who administered them. *Celestina* mirrors this tension and serves as a cautionary tale that conditioned sixteenth-century readers to accept developing legal and professional mechanisms designed to control the unauthorized dissemination of these substances.

Pharmaceuticals have enjoyed a longstanding if not privileged tradition in Western medicine. Over the ages, professional healers, subaltern practitioners and self-medicating patients regularly turned to pills, powders, ointments, herbs, plants, animal parts, stones, syrups, balms and plasters for their healing and hygienic needs.³ During times of illness and the accompanying conditions of pain, discomfort and bodily dysfunction, patients experience moments of elevated subjectivity in which the entire world is read in relation to – or as commentary on – their physical condition. In these moments, the notice of a pharmaceutical cure gains a commanding ability to encourage patients to imagine that a particular substance or concoction holds the power to remedy their disorder or eliminate the threat of disease. Pharmaceuticals provide a conceptual repository where patients can lodge their diverse therapeutic fantasies. This process, which I shall call *pharmacaption*, functions primarily as a placebo in the etymological sense of pleasing the patient by capturing his or her imagination; it allows patients to believe that once they acquire and consume a particular medicine the restoration of their health will be forthcoming.

Medieval and early modern physicians recognized the possible salutary benefits or detrimental consequences of manipulating the imagination. Jacme d'Agramont, in one of the earliest vernacular treatises on the plague (Lérida 1348), warns, 'per ymaginació sola pot venir alcuna malaltia' (fol. 12r).⁴ Medical deontologists cautioned that men often die simply because they imagine that their death is imminent, and thus physicians should avoid talking about death in the presence of the patient.⁵ Juan de Aviñón justified his suggestion that people should leave the city during times of pestilence because flight from the plague site would discourage patients from imagining that they suffer from disease and therefore thwart the imagination's power to create or worsen the effects of the plague (135). Pedro Mexía emphatically claims that the imagination can make the body well or ill and

³ For an overview of anthropological approaches to pharmaceuticals as social and cultural phenomena, see the essay by Van der Geest, Whyte and Hardon.

⁴ Jacme d'Agramont offers a simple and frequently described experiment to prove his point: place a wooden beam on the ground and a man will walk upon it without any problem; place the beam high above the ground and the same man will fall because he imagines that he will fall (fol. 12r).

⁵ For example, Estephano de Sevilla writes: 'E esto es entendido: quando la enfermedat es incurable, mas porque non es justo del todo el enfermo dexar, que podria ser caso que por ssola ymaginacion de la desesperança [sic] de los medicos podria el enfermo a peligro muy ayna venjr. [. . .] Conujene a ty al enfermo ssalud le prometer & nunca desesperança le poner porque el desespere, porque la conplission del cuerpo sienpre en el afetu al anjma sse allegra. Onde el comentador ysidro ssobre este anforismo [sic], diziendo: a njngunt enfermo non deue el medico la muerte anunciar, mas la ssalut de todo en todo prometelle por que non ssea desesperado' (fols 58v, 63r).

cites the case of a man who, merely upon seeing – and hence imagining – a particular medicine, benefited from its effects without ever tasting or smelling it (2:8). According to Estephano de Sevilla, it is the patient's 'ymaginacion buena' that cures more patients than the physician himself (fol. 42v).⁶

While modern physicians may dispute the limits of the imagination to cure serious illnesses, medical anthropologists have noted that pharmaceuticals continue to play a definitive role in helping patients imagine a recovery from their ailment. The popularity of pharmaceuticals lies in their perceived concreteness. 'Their "thinginess" provides patients and healers with a means to deal with the problem at hand. Medicines are tangible, usable in a concrete way: they can be swallowed, smeared on the skin or inserted into orifices – activities that hold the promise of a physical effect' (Van der Geest, Whyte and Hardon 154). Objects deemed as having pharmaceutical power can be warehoused, exchanged and saved for future ailments. Patients who can secure a supply of drugs gain a sense of independence from the costs and inconvenience involved in consulting physicians and other health-care practitioners. In many cultures, physicians and healers who do not prescribe medicines risk leaving patients with the sense that the practitioner has failed to intervene on their behalf (Van der Geest and Whyte).

In the late Middle Ages, the alternative to pharmaceutical medicine was found in traditional Galenic hygiene. Physicians encouraged patients to avoid medicines and preserve or recuperate their health by adherence to a regime based on controlling and adjusting the six non-naturals: air and environment; food and drink; sleep and wakefulness; motion and rest; evacuation and repletion; and moods, emotions and mental states.⁷ Non-natural hygiene posited a radical individualism in which health was grounded in the activities of the hygienic subject and those particular and often changing circumstances that surrounded her. With the help of a good physician, patients were taught to organize their daily activities, control

⁶ Controlling the patient's imagination was thought to be so fundamental for successful healing that some works on bedside manner outlined what would seem to us as ruses and tricks to keep the patient's confidence and trust. In Arnau de Vilanova's *Repetitio*, a work written for his students, he recommends that when the physician 'doesn't know how long the illness will last or when it might return, he should never promise that any particular treatment is going to be the last, because when the treatment is complete, the patient will lose hope if he hasn't recovered, and the physician will be accused of falsehoods. Thus the prudent physician will always tell the patient and his friends that he is using this drug or that in order to bring about a preliminary state, so that the patient can look forward to a further important treatment and will not give up hope' (translated by McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague* 169). In the brief treatise, *De Cautelis Medicorum*, attributed to Arnau de Vilanova and included in all editions of Arnau's *Opera* since 1504, physicians who are unable to find a satisfactory interpretation of a urine sample were instructed to announce the diagnosis: 'opilationem in epate' ['obstruction in the liver'], 'and particularly use the word *opilatio*, because they do not understand what it means, and it helps greatly that a term is not understood by the people' (McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague* 139).

⁷ For an overview of the theory of the six non-naturals, see García-Ballester, 'On the Origin'. On avoiding medicines in favor of diet, see Chirino, *Menor daño* (fol. 2r-v).

their emotions and manage their intake of food and drink. Disease in Galenic pathology was largely physiological, and good health was thought to lie in an ongoing process of rigorous adherence to shifting regimental imperatives.

In the popular imagination, the idea that people could marvelously and immediately recuperate their health by simply taking a pill or applying an ointment was an attractive alternative to the cumbersome adherence to non-natural therapy. While medical writers warned that non-natural regimens were individual and could not be applied universally, apothecaries and others who promoted the use of pharmaceuticals claimed that their remedies were universally effective and could treat multiple afflictions. Jerónimo Soriano claimed that his *diacodion*, an opiate-based concoction made from poppy bulbs and honey, would comfort the stomach, eliminate bloody stools, alleviate colic, reduce fevers, relieve excessive thirst, cure insomnia, treat dizziness, remedy gum and throat disorders and ease the pain of toothaches (fols 41v-43r).

Patients did not need to have the pharmaceutical in hand to be captivated by its alleged capabilities. The possession of a recipe (*receta*) – a discrete description of a medicament derived from applying, combining, distilling or pulverizing plants, animals and minerals – could produce the effects of pharmacaption. During the late Middle Ages, recipes written in the vernacular began to circulate with increasing frequency. Documents indicate that patients themselves exchanged efficacious recipes, often without the aid or approval of a professional healer. For example, in the early summer of 1374 the Aragonese queen Elionor de Sicilia received a letter from her daughter-in-law, Mata d'Armagnac, who had just given birth and was suffering from 'mal de mamella', an unspecified mammary ailment. In her letter to Elionor, Mata wrote: 'jo he haut vos teniets una bona recepta ab la qual jo serie, si l'hagués, tantost per guarida.'⁸ The correspondence between Mata and her mother-in-law provides rare medieval documentation for the process of pharmacaption. A patient who is suffering from a particular malady has imagined that her future well-being lies in the acquisition of a pharmaceutical remedy. In this case, however, the imagination is fixed not only on obtaining a physical substance but on acquiring the recipe for said pharmaceutical.

Throughout the sixteenth century, thousands of recipes in the vernacular circulated throughout the Iberian Peninsula. These brief texts provided instructions and formulae for creating and applying medicines that offered cures for hundreds of maladies from headaches and hernias to hemorrhoids and hair loss. Many recipes appeared at the end or in the margins of larger medical texts while others found their way into dedicated collections or *recetarios*. Still others were incorporated into plague treatises, hygiene guides (*regimina*), surgical treatises and works on obstetrics, pathology and anatomy. Although some recipe collections were designed for the unique constitution of a single individual, such as the

⁸ For sources and a complete description of the correspondence between Elionor and Mata, see Cabré.

fifteenth-century *Recetario de Rey don Enrique el quarto*, this did not stop the entire collection or extracted recipes from circulating independently.⁹ Rarely occupying more than five or six lines in a book or a manuscript, recipes constitute the most prolific form of vernacular medical writing in the late medieval and early modern periods.¹⁰ Even Alfonso Chirino, an outspoken critic of the popular use of medicaments, included more than one hundred recipes in his *Menor daño de la medicina*, a work conversely dedicated to teaching readers how to cure themselves without resorting to pharmaceutical and other medical remedies.

The prolific circulation of these vernacular recipes contributed to the formation and development of an early modern pharmaceutical imaginary. These little texts allowed patients to objectify their healing strategy in the imagined workings of tangible medicines and encouraged the sick to believe that pharmaceuticals offered an effective form of treatment. More specifically, these recipes directed the patient's imagination towards the arcane potential of quotidian substances, the marvelous possibilities of combined medicines and the comforting knowledge that these remedies had been tested and proven to be effective.

Much of the popular charm of sixteenth-century pharmaceutical medicine emerged from a re-enchantment of the familiar world. Although some recipes included exotic plants, animals and minerals from the Far East and the New World, a great majority called for the use of common materials that were often overlooked or misunderstood. Household substances could hold secret properties: 'Ceuolla asada vn poco & encorporada con azeyte o manteca prouecha ençima de las almorranas' (Chirino, *Menor daño* fol. 195v); 'tira el vomjto [. . .] la rrayz del apio cocha & beujda el agua' (Gilberto fol. 17v). The key was to know which substance to use for a particular ailment, when to use it and how it should be used. Recipes provided this information. Even an ordinary chicken could be exploited in extraordinary ways. Zamudio de Alfaro, for example, offers what he calls a remedy 'que a ninguno le aconseje que no le aprouechasse, y en algunos con tan gran breuedad, que parecia milagro' for treating carbuncles and glandular tumors by using the sucking quality of a chicken's depilated anus:

Pollos grandes viuos, y quitadas las plumas del lugar por donde purgan el vientre, y arimandolos mucho a la seca, hasta que se mueran, y en muriendose poner otro. (fol. 15v)

⁹ The *Recetario* is housed in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS 46.

¹⁰ To my knowledge scholars have yet to undertake an extensive study of the vernacular recipe in late medieval and early modern Spain. My personal database contains over 1,200 recipes extracted from a mere ten late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century vernacular medical works including Álvarez's *Regimiento contra la peste* (1501), the anonymous *Tesoro de la medicina* (15th century), Juan de Aviñón's *Sevillana medicina* (1545), Chirino's *Menor daño de la medicina* (1505) and Soriano's *Libro de experimentos medicos, faciles y verdaderos* (1598).

In addition to the benefits acquired from the use of individual medicines, the sixteenth-century pharmacological imaginary shared by patients and professionals thrived on the assumption that the qualities and powers of individual substances could produce astonishing effects in combination with other medicines. To a degree, this assumption was backed by a longstanding pharmacological theory. According to Avicenna, the specific qualities of individual medicines gained unexpected and largely unpredictable results when combined with other single or complex medicines. A compounded medicine was thought to produce a unique complexion (*forma specifica*) by virtue of its combinatory nature.¹¹ As McVaugh notes, pharmacists could ‘systematically predict many properties of a compound, those derived from its simples, but the property that results from its *forma specifica*, a quality peculiar to the individual medicine, can be determined only through experience in its use’ (‘Development’ 18–19). Although recipes vary in length and technical complexity, it is notably common to find medications that require ten or more ingredients. For the sixteenth-century patient, copious substances in combination offered the promise of esoteric remedies and unexpected cures.

Given that the efficacy of such medicines could be determined only through a process of testing and firsthand experience, pharmacological concoctions were increasingly bound to empirical corroboration. Writers frequently declared that their recipes had been tested and proven through personal experience: it is common to find terms such as ‘muy prouado’, ‘prouado es’ added to the end or incorporated into the description of a recipe:

Para que los cabellos nunca rrenascan [. . .] toma sangre de murçiegalo & çumo de jusquiamo & simje[n]te de jusquiamo papauer negro & amasalo con la dicha sangre & vnta el lugar *prouado es* (Gilberto fol. 3v; emphasis added)¹²

Although apothecaries and medical writers seldom resisted the opportunity to note that their recipes were taken from or approved by great physicians – Avicenna, Galen, Hippocrates – at the end of the sixteenth century, pharmacology became as rooted in the drug maker’s empirical claims and personal experience as in the educated practitioner’s knowledge of ancient sources and theoretical principles.

Thus popular medical recipes that circulated during the age of Fernando de Rojas and afterwards captured the reader’s imagination by testifying that specific material, arcane or common, could produce wonderful results when properly used or productively combined with other substances. Pármeno’s description of

¹¹ For the sources to Avicenna’s concept of the *forma specifica*, see McVaugh, ‘Development’ 17–20.

¹² Other examples: ‘Et esto es prouado muchas uezes’ (*Tesoro de la medicina* fol. 6v); ‘[medicamentos] bien prouados’ (Chirino, *Menor daño* fol. 189v); ‘espiencia prouada’ (Gilberto fol. 6r).

Celestina and her laboratory makes similar claims. Paradoxically, thanks to Pármeno's description, Calisto can ponder Celestina's use of a panoply of substances that individually or in combination could lead to thousands of marvelous and unexpected remedies – including a remedy for his own pathological desire. Moreover, Pármeno's portrait of an older woman with years of experience forcefully speaks of her empirical knowledge and attests to her efficacy in carrying out her prescriptions. After all, she is a woman – Pármeno tells Calisto – whose art is so honed that she was capable of selling the same servant girl as a virgin three times to a French ambassador (Rojas 38). Rather than causing Calisto to reflect for a moment, Pármeno's words send Calisto's imagination into flight, energized by the same attraction that patients find in pharmaceuticals.

I am suggesting that Pármeno fails to dissuade Calisto because his description of Celestina and her laboratory produces the same effects in Calisto's imagination as those that patients experienced when reading a pharmaceutical recipe. To understand this parallel, we must place Calisto and Pármeno within the narrative's larger socio-medical paradigm. Prior to inviting Celestina to his house, Calisto turns to his servant Sempronio for a solution to his lovesick or lust-driven desire. For Calisto, his problem is medical, both because his mental and emotional state warrants such a classification and because a medical paradigm appears to offer the most familiar – though not best understood – model for dealing with the discomfort of his anxious condition. Sempronio, therefore, is called on to intervene therapeutically as healer for Calisto's ambiguous 'mal'. Acting as a physician, Sempronio meekly employs the traditional therapy for the medically recognized disease of heroic love. When initial forms of therapy fail – rational persuasion and general denigration of the beloved –, Sempronio recommends that Calisto seek help from an old woman soon to be known as Celestina.¹³

The use of *vetulae* as advanced therapies for sexual and amorous disorder has been well documented. Avicenna, Bernardo de Gordonio, López de Villalobos and the anonymous author of the *Speculum al foderi* recommend that in extreme cases old women could be used to perform services that would lead to curing the patient.¹⁴ Bernardo de Gordonio, for example, recommends that an old woman, dressed in dirty and tattered clothing, malign the beloved with vile words and abject demonstrations – a menses-soaked rag identified metonymically as the beloved (fol. 60v). What is often overlooked is that these para-practitioners were required to act *in subordination* to a medical authority who prescribed their intervention as part of a larger therapeutic strategy. In effect, these women were not

¹³ See Solomon, 'Calisto's Ailment' for a description of the medical strategies that Sempronio uses to cure Calisto.

¹⁴ For example, López de Villalobos, in his summary of Avicenna's *Canon*, suggests the use of 'alcahuetes' as a cure for lovesickness (*Sumario de la medicina* 4r); in the context of coital hygiene, the author of the *Speculum al foderi* (chapter 8) recommends using an old woman to find a willing partner for hygienic intercourse. Also see the studies by Ruggerio and Dangler.

recommended as practitioners who could independently treat a patient's ailment. Instead, they functioned as a pharmaceutical, something to be administered to the patient, under the sanction of a doctor's orders.

This subordination of the therapy to the therapist suffers a parodic inversion when Pármeno arrives on the scene and begins describing Celestina's laboratory. Suddenly Celestina is no longer merely the old woman whom Sempronio, acting as a makeshift physician, has prescribed to heal Calisto's dubious wounds. Rather, she is the therapist who will analyze, diagnose and treat Calisto's ailment. When Pármeno captures Calisto's imagination by listing the substances in Celestina's laboratory, he simultaneously identifies Celestina as a fitting healer. Unlike the self-contained medical recipe that comforted readers with detailed instructions on how to mix, combine, concoct and apply a particular drug – in addition to promises of good health and marvelous recoveries –, Pármeno's lengthy discourse at the beginning of *Celestina* only insinuates the latent pharmacological potential of Celestina's laboratory. The specific instructions on how to make a particular drug for a particular ailment lies with Celestina herself. Hence for Calisto's pharmacaption to continue, the allure of pharmaceutical therapy must be extended to Celestina. She alone has the knowledge to manipulate the materials and provide a cure. By attempting to discredit Celestina, Pármeno inadvertently legitimizes her status and encourages Calisto to believe that his health lies not only in the drugs in her laboratory but also in Celestina's skill as a practitioner of the medical and apothecary arts.

From a socio-medical standpoint, the most formative moment in *Celestina* is when Calisto orders Pármeno to allow Celestina to enter his house. Calisto's attempt to treat his ailment (feigned or real) initiates a lengthy series of events and encounters that will lead to his own and Melibea's deaths. Pleberio's grieving interrogatives at the end of the work, typically understood as an authorial summation of the text's metaphysical themes, encourage readers to contemplate the reasons behind the tragedy. The weight of Celestina and Calisto's initial encounter returns in full force as readers begin to reflect on the causal relation between Celestina's intervention and Calisto and Melibea's tragic end. It is at this point in the work where sixteenth-century readers would reconsider and restore the inverted relation between therapy and therapist, between drugs and apothecary. The message is clear; it is not one of the drugs from Celestina's laboratory that killed Calisto and Melibea, rather Celestina's nefarious and self-serving intercession. By extension, therefore, Rojas insinuates that readers should stay clear from those illicit practitioners whose pharmaceutical assets falsely suggest that they can act as benevolent and productive mediators for recovering and preserving an ailing subject's health.¹⁵ This is a message that resonated harmoniously with the

¹⁵ I am not arguing against the enormous body of criticism that seeks to reveal how Rojas casts Celestina as a witch or sorceress. Indeed, Pármeno's description of Celestina's laboratory clearly points to various possible necromantic activities. But as Rouhi has argued, 'exact definitions of professional activities such as midwifery, prostitution, healing, surgery or

prevailing sixteenth-century attempts to limit and control the dissemination of drugs by controlling those who disseminated them.

The prolific publication and circulation of *Celestina* during the sixteenth century corresponded with a defining period in the history of Iberian pharmaceutical medicine. Legal mechanisms such as obligatory examinations and mandatory licensing attempted to give a professional face to the apothecary practice by controlling the cost, quality and dissemination of pharmaceuticals, and by weeding out those practitioners who had not been adequately trained. Technical manuals and deontological writings fortified legal initiatives and endeavored to elevate the lowly and often ill-considered drug merchant to the level of the surgeon or even the physician.¹⁶ As the resistance to pharmaceutical medicine waned, the concern of medical authorities shifted away from the potential danger in drugs towards those practitioners whose incompetence or character flaws would place their patients in harm's way. We read in the introduction to Alonso Rodríguez de Tudela's translation of Saladino de Ascoli's *Compendio de los boticarios* (1515) that an apothecary (*boticario*) should be reluctant to fight, studious, solicitous, loyal, mature, serious, gentle, honest, God-fearing, conscientious, upright, just, pious and experienced in his art; he should not be arrogant, reckless, pompous, greedy, avaricious and given to vanities, wine and strong drink, because the apothecary 'ha de tratar dela vida delos hombres que es mas preciada que todos los aueres del mundo' (fol. 3v). As all readers of Rojas' work know, *Celestina* fails to live up to these norms.

Unlike her convent-trotting literary predecessors, such as the *alcahuetas* in Juan Ruiz' *Libro de buen amor*, Fernando de Rojas' *Celestina* operates from a stable location where she receives her clients and stores the ingredients that presumably will be used in her diverse and often suspect operations. Although Pármeno's lengthy description of *Celestina*'s laboratory serves as an ingenious device to characterize her, it also has the power to initiate an extended reflection on the relationship between medical practitioners and medicinal substances. Increasingly, sixteenth-century medical authorities attempted to bind the popular fascination with marvelous and effective drugs to the moral character, training and competence of authorized apothecaries or trained medical professionals. In this sense, Rojas' work participates in a general denunciation of women practitioners and makes a more specific claim that women bearing pharmaceutical substances are especially dangerous.¹⁷ In the developing sixteenth-century pharmaceutical

sorcery rarely existed in the minds of the majority of urban dwellers' (23). My argument is that Rojas' work does less to define *Celestina*'s professional identity than to demonstrate her unsuitability for entering the developing sixteenth-century medical professions.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion on the formation of the apothecary in late medieval Castile, see García-Ballester's chapter, 'La farmacia: la "ciencia y el oficio de la botica"' in *La búsqueda de la salud* (561–644).

¹⁷ On the general strategies used in late medieval and early modern literature to undermine the healing practices of women, see Dangler, as well as Solomon, *Literature of Misogyny*.

imaginary, Rojas' work illustrated for readers how allowing the imagination to be captured by the potential healing effects of those substances and concoctions found in the domain of women healers is, in truth, a recipe for disaster.

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Spanish and Portuguese Scholars at the University of Paris in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Exchange of Ideas and Texts

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Accounts of the intellectual and educational development of northern France in the central and late Middle Ages rarely give much attention to ties with or scholars from the Iberian Peninsula. The Carolingian renaissance of the late eighth and ninth centuries is usually described as fueled by scholars from Italy, such as Peter of Pisa or Paul the Deacon, or from England and Ireland, such as Alcuin or John Scotus Eriugena. Contributions from a number of émigrés from Spain are less discussed. Theodulf of Orléans, Agobard of Lyons or Claudius of Turin are identified by their episcopal appointments but little attention is paid to their Iberian origins. Nor is the impact of Iberian learning highlighted in scholarship on Western Europe. Accounts of the twelfth-century renaissance generally acknowledge how Gerbert of Aurillac's studies at Barcelona in the late tenth century shaped his subsequent teaching at Reims; or how Adelard of Bath's travels in Spain enriched his knowledge of natural philosophy; and how the importance of Toledo as a center of translation facilitated the transmission of philosophical texts to northern Europe. Yet the leading figures in the standard narrative of northern European culture in the twelfth century are St Anselm, Hugh of St Victor, Peter Abelard, John of Salisbury, Bernard of Clairvaux and other Italian, German, English or French figures.

After the acknowledgement of the contributions of Petrus Hispanus to the study of grammar in the twelfth century or the contributions in logic by another Petrus Hispanus in the thirteenth century, Iberian culture ceases to be part of the major narrative of intellectual history.¹ Leading scholars at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century were Italian, such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, or German, such as Albert the Great and Meister Eckhart, or British, such as Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon and John Duns Scotus. Many regions outside France established colleges at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: for example those of Denmark (Collège des Daces),

¹ Ramón Llull is the exception. Both the grammarian and the logician are cited in documents and secondary literature as Petrus Hispanus, or Peter of Spain.

Sweden (Collège de Suesse, or Uppsala; Collège de Linköping; Collège de Skara), Germany (Collège des Allemands), Lombardy (Collège des Lombards) and Scotland (Collège des Écossais).² And while the Collège de Navarre was founded in the early fourteenth century, it was established through the legacy of Jeanne of Navarre, wife of the French king Philippe IV, and its fellowships were restricted to scholars from northern France. One might consequently conclude that somehow, in the course of the thirteenth century, the Pyrenees became a higher, more formidable barrier than the Alps for the transmission of culture, even more isolating than in the ninth to twelfth centuries.

To the extent that impression has any substance, one could offer as an explanation that the early development of universities in Spain and Portugal obviated the need for Iberian students to travel outside their homeland. But, with the exception of the short-lived university of Palencia, Iberian universities such as Valladolid, Salamanca, Lérida, Lisbon and Coimbra specialized in the study of civil and canon law and lacked faculties of theology.³ In order to obtain university training and a doctorate in theology, one was forced to go north to Toulouse, or better, to Paris. And interestingly, while Bologna, the leading university for the study of law, had its Collegio di Spagna, which is still active today, nothing like that for arts, medicine, law or theology was founded at Paris. Thus, we do not find Iberian scholars among the major figures in the history of scholastic philosophy and theology in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which might lead one to conclude that their presence in Paris was minimal or non-existent.

But was that in fact the case? If the narrative is concentrated around the intellectual achievement of those who in the period 1250–1400 contributed to fields of philosophy and theology, the Iberian Peninsula plays a small part in the story. If one looks closer, however, at the intellectual exchange of students and texts between Paris and Iberia, a different picture emerges. It is that picture, as it applies to the fourteenth century, that I wish to explore in this study.

One indication of the connection of Iberia with developments in philosophy and theology north of the Pyrenees is the manuscript collections of cathedral and monastic libraries in Spain. The majority of scholastic theologians active at

² Denmark, which in this period included the southern tip of modern-day Sweden, was referred to in Latin as *Dacia*: hence the name of the college. The Collège des Écossais had difficulty surviving, although students and masters from Scotland formed an important part of the English nation in the faculty of arts, which also included students and masters from Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Germany and Eastern Europe.

³ Palencia was founded by Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1208–9, but had ceased to exist before the end of the century. Valladolid emerged in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, while Salamanca was founded by Alfonso IX before 1230 and refounded by Fernando III in 1243 and by Alfonso X in 1254. Lérida was founded in 1300 by Jaume II of Aragón. Lisbon was founded before 1290 and transferred to Coimbra in 1308. Some attempt was made to establish a chair in theology at Valladolid, but no ongoing instruction in theology developed there or in other Iberian universities until the period of the Great Schism at the end of the fourteenth and the early decades of the fifteenth century.

Paris, not just from the period of Thomas Aquinas but from the fourteenth century as well, are amply represented in Spanish manuscript collections. More surprisingly, half of all Oxford theologians who wrote between 1310 and 1345 are represented by surviving manuscripts of their work in Spanish libraries. If contacts between Paris and the Iberian Peninsula were as rare as general accounts would suggest, why and how did these texts cross the Pyrenees into Spain and Portugal? Who copied and brought them into Spain, and what purpose did they serve in a region devoid of university training in theology? The answer, of course, is that contact and interaction existed through institutions and individuals ignored in most historical accounts. It is another instance where Spain is less frequently included than the rest of Western Europe in many narratives of medieval religious and intellectual history.⁴

Let me begin with the Iberian secular clerics – that is, those who did not belong to a religious order – who studied at Paris. Their university studies did not necessarily imply a church career, although that was the goal of many if not of most. To have an overall picture of Iberian scholars at Paris, one needs to consider a variety of university documents, some of which portray a cross-section of the university population, while others tell us only about the masters or teachers in the faculties of arts, theology, canon law and medicine.

First of note is the relatively small number of Spanish scholars at Paris who were not in religious orders when compared to the number of secular clerics from other non-French regions of Europe. Some examples will illustrate the point. The 1313 university appeal to the pope to postpone the deadline for payment to a general collection was signed by over 300 students and masters. Of the 300, eight were from England, five from Poland, four from Italy and two from Spain.⁵ Of the latter, one, Martinus Hispanus, was a master, while the other, Raudericus de Hispania, was presumably a student.⁶ The document, however, provides no information regarding the Iberian regions from which the two men came nor their discipline of study. A later document, the financial collection of 1329/1330, lists by name some 800 secular students and masters, of whom only nine students are identifiable as Iberian.⁷ The *rotuli*, or lists of supplication, that the University of Paris sent to the pope in the fourteenth century were limited to masters of arts, theology, law and medicine until the Papal Schism in 1378 and, out of more than

⁴ For example, the survey of mendicant education in *Le Scuole degli ordini mendicanti* covers England, France, Italy, Germany and Eastern Europe, but says nothing about Spain. The same is generally true of a more recent volume: *Studio e studia*. Progress on the topic has been made by Maierù.

⁵ For the edition and study of this document, Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Carton IV, A.18.b, see *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* 161–6 and Courtenay, 'Foreign Scholars at Paris'.

⁶ Here and elsewhere the Latin form of a name has been retained for persons whose vernacular name has not been found in other sources.

⁷ The document, Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, Reg. 2.1, ff. 58r–65v, is discussed at length in Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars*.

2700 petitions or provisions, only six are for masters from Spain or Portugal. This would seem to confirm that, proportionally speaking, the number of Iberian secular scholars at Paris was indeed quite small. This does not, however, make them less interesting or significant.

A second feature of this small group of Iberian scholars is that they lived in the same area of the university quarter in Paris, often together or adjacent to one another. The financial collection of 1329/1330, which lists the street of residence for many, shows three scholars from Spain living at the upper end of the Grande Rue St Jacques and another two housed in nearby streets. Thus, while no college similar to the Collegio di Spagna at Bologna was founded at Paris, Iberian scholars did live in proximity – an interesting but not unexpected finding.

A third feature, and perhaps the most important, is that the Iberian scholars who appear in these documents are, for the most part, wealthy; and, perhaps because their social position guaranteed them the type of career they sought, they rarely completed a degree. This may explain why so few Iberian names appear in the document of 1313, which was compiled on behalf of poor students, and why so few appear among the masters who petitioned the pope for benefices, since being a master entailed the completion of a degree program. For example, among the nine Iberian scholars mentioned in the financial collection of 1329/1330, we find Alfonsus Dionysii de Hispania, otherwise known as Alfonsus de Ulixbona (Lisbon), Alfonsus de Portugalia or Afonso Dinis, who seems to have been an illegitimate son of a member of the family of Afonso IV of Portugal. He was one of the few Iberian scholars who completed a degree, in his case becoming sequentially a master of arts, a doctor of medicine and a doctor of theology. He ended his career as bishop of Évora. Another Spanish scholar was the treasurer of the cathedral of Seville; and yet another, the dean of the cathedral chapter at Ávila. One presumes, in the case of these last two individuals, that their studies at the University of Paris, while they were holding major ecclesiastical positions in Spain, were probably for political and cultural contacts as much as for educational enrichment. Several of these scholars had royal sponsorship, such as a clerk of Alfonso XI, king of Castile, Gunsalvus Petri, who received several cathedral prebends and dignities while completing a doctorate in theology at Paris. The dean of the cathedral of Ávila, Velasco Jiménez, was also a clerk and *familiaris* of the king of Castile. One of the most interesting and illustrative individuals of this group of well-placed Iberian scholars was Juan de Luna, a protégé of the archbishop of Tarragona. Luna was already a canon at the cathedral of Cuenca in 1317 before he reached the age of ten or twelve. When he went to Paris in the mid 1320s, he was sponsored by Jaume, king of Aragón, and in addition to his income from his prebend at Cuenca, he was rector of a parish church in the diocese of Tarragona, was canon with expectation of prebend at Lérida and held a perpetual chaplaincy in the cathedral of Toledo – all by way of dispensation for his ‘defect of age’.⁸

⁸ For the ecclesiastical appointments of Luna, see *Jean XXII*, entries 4527, 25603, 29359, 29865 and 50831, summarized in Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars*.

We do know the field of study for a few of these Iberian scholars. One of them, Fernando de Salamanca, was licensed in arts at Paris and subsequently licensed in medicine at Bologna. He pursued an ecclesiastical career in the dioceses of Ávila and Segovia. Two of these scholars were theologians and held burses at the College of the Sorbonne. One of these was Franciscus Christofori, from the diocese of Tortosa, who became a regular canon in the cathedral of the same diocese. The other was Fernandus Johannis of Toledo, a protégé of the archbishop of Toledo, who read the *Sentences* (that is, became a bachelor of theology) at Paris in 1344–45, the same year in which Afonso Dinis and the Augustinian friar Alfonso Vargas of Toledo fulfilled the same academic task at Paris. Remarkably, in that academic year three of the twelve bachelors of theology lecturing on the *Sentences* were from the Iberian Peninsula, but that appears to have been an unusual occurrence.

As was noted above, many of the Spanish students belonged to the patronage network of Spanish bishops, who helped fund their studies at Paris; and several of these scholars returned to major ecclesiastical positions in Spain. It was probably through them and others like them that most of the theological manuscripts of Parisian authors, and Oxford authors by way of Paris, came to the cathedral libraries of the Iberian Peninsula, where they served the educational needs of those in diocesan schools.

Secular students were only one avenue for the transmission of philosophical and theological texts from Paris into Spain and Portugal. More important numerically were the students sent to Paris by the mendicant orders. The statutes of the Dominicans, Franciscans and eventually the Augustinian Hermits required that each province send two or three students to Paris for advanced training in theology, after which they returned as lectors to their various home convents and *studia* and were elected to administrative positions in their orders.⁹ This system, internal to the orders and known as the lectorate program of study, ensured that there was a steady stream of mendicant students in their twenties and early thirties, including those from Spain and Portugal, who were sent to and returned from Paris. Some of those were later chosen to return to Paris for the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology.

The Dominican order was closely connected with Spain inasmuch as Dominic himself began his career in Castile. The Dominicans divided the Iberian Peninsula into two provinces by 1302: Aragón and Spain. The province of Aragón included Navarre, with its principal convent in Pamplona; Aragón, with its principal convent in Zaragoza; and Catalonia, the principal convent of which was Barcelona. The Dominican province of Spain included Compostela, León, Burgos, Palencia and Valladolid in the north; Segovia, Salamanca and Toledo in central Spain; and Córdoba and Seville in the south; along with Coimbra and

⁹ In addition to the works cited above in note 4, see Courtenay, 'The Instructional Programme' and Roest.

Lisbon in Portugal. Barcelona and Salamanca were *studia generalia*, respectively, for the two provinces.¹⁰ The strong stress on education within the Dominican order meant that every priory had one or more lectors and separate schools for the study of grammar, logic, natural philosophy and theology within each visitation or subunit of the province; the responsibility for hosting such schools rotated among the priories. We can safely assume that the two Iberian provinces of the Dominican order sent students to Paris for the lectorate program on a regular basis, and among the eighteen provinces of the order, the province of Aragón was second only to that of Toulouse in having its candidates chosen by the General Chapter to proceed to the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology at Paris. Few of these Dominican theologians, however, are known to have produced significant scholastic works in philosophy or theology. Yet preparation for Parisian study at whatever level required familiarity with the topics and texts current in Paris at the time, for which reason Dominican libraries in the principal Spanish priories, especially those that were provincial or general *studia*, acquired the texts currently discussed at Paris, many of which were probably brought back to Spain by students and masters returning from that university.¹¹

The Franciscans divided the Iberian Peninsula into three provinces by the early fourteenth century. The province of Aragón closely paralleled that of the Dominicans and stretched from Navarre, with Pamplona again as the principal convent, through Aragón, with its principal convent at Zaragoza, to Catalonia. The *studium generale* for the latter was Valencia, rather than the Dominican Barcelona, and Lérida eventually also became designated as a Franciscan *studium generale*. The Franciscan province of Castile stretched from Burgos in the north, through Segovia and Toledo, to Seville and Murcia in the south. The third province was the province of Santiago de Compostela, whose principal convent and *studium generale* was located at Salamanca, although the Lisbon convent also came to house a *studium generale* for the province and order. As with the Dominicans, preparation for Parisian studies by Iberian Franciscans required familiarity with the texts in current use and discussion at Paris. Thus the libraries of the principal centers of study for the Franciscan order in Spain acquired the texts of Franciscans, other mendicants and even of secular masters that were in use at Paris in the fourteenth century.

By 1329 the order of the Augustinian Hermits was divided into twenty-four provinces. Within that structure, the Iberian Peninsula was divided into two provinces by the end of the thirteenth century. The province of Catalonia–Aragón stretched from Zaragoza to Gerona in the north, to Valencia and Alicante in the south and eastward to include the Balearic Islands. For that province there were *studia* at Lérida and Valencia, but apparently not at Barcelona. The other

¹⁰ The term '*studium generale*' as used within the mendicant orders did not mean a university but an advanced school to which students could be sent from any of the provinces of the order.

¹¹ On mendicant libraries, see Humphreys.

province, that of Spain, comprised the remainder of the Hispanic kingdoms and, for a time, Portugal.¹² Its principal *studium* was at Toledo.

Each of these orders had a number of Iberian theologians who studied and taught at Paris in the fourteenth century, including the Franciscan Gonzalo de Balboa, who while minister general of the order appointed John Duns Scotus to proceed to the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology at Paris. Yet none of the Iberian theologians left surviving scholastic work, save for the Augustinian Hermit, Alfonso Vargas of Toledo. Vargas commented on the *Sentences* at Paris and was cited frequently in the works of Parisian theologians in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹³ His questions on the *Sentences* survive in many manuscripts across Europe, but surprisingly none as yet has been identified in Spanish libraries. Afonso Dinis of Portugal, the secular master of medicine and theology mentioned earlier, who went on to become bishop of Évora, and who lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in the same year as Vargas, did leave surviving works in Spain, mostly translations of astronomical and astrological works, which he translated in Seville in 1334 (Beaujouan 22).

If the number of scholars from the Iberian Peninsula who made contributions to scholastic thought at Paris is small, the same cannot be said of the manuscripts of Parisian scholars – and of Oxford scholars by way of Paris – that were brought back to Spain and Portugal by those who had studied abroad. A substantial number of manuscripts of the philosophical and theological works of Parisian and Oxonian authors, some of the most innovative and controversial of the period, are extant in libraries in Spain. For example, there are numerous fourteenth-century Parisian authors: the Franciscans Alexander of Alessandria, Peter Aureol, Francis Mayronis (7 MSS), Peter of Aquila and Gerald Odonis; the Dominicans Herveus Natalis, Peter Palude and Durand of St Pourçain; and the Cistercian John of Mirecourt, statements from whose *Sentences* commentary were condemned at Paris in 1347. In fact, two of the finest manuscripts of Mirecourt's work are found in Spain: one in the university library at Salamanca (MS 1863, formerly Madrid, Palacio MS 568) and the other, beautifully illuminated, in the Biblioteca del Cabildo in Toledo (MS Cabildo XIII, 39). From Oxford authors, one finds manuscripts of works of Henry Harclay, William of Ockham, John of Rodington, Robert Holcot, Adam Wodeham, Richard Kilvington, Roger Roseth, Robert of Halifax and Thomas Buckingham.

To illustrate the importance of Iberian manuscripts for the history of late scholastic thought, we can take the example of the *Sentences* commentary by the English Franciscan Adam Wodeham. Wodeham was a theologian active at Oxford in the 1330s and a close associate of William of Ockham before the latter's departure for Avignon, Italy and Munich. Wodeham completed Ockham's

¹² The Augustinian province of Portugal, when it emerged, had its principal convent and *studium* in Lisbon.

¹³ For example, Vargas is mentioned in the *Sentences* commentaries of Hugolino of Orvieto and James of Eltville.

Summa logica and defended his natural philosophy, although he deviated from his ideas in other areas.¹⁴ Wodeham's Oxford lectures on the *Sentences* circulated widely and in the third quarter of the fourteenth century were republished in an abbreviated form by Henry Totting of Oyta, a Dutch theologian who taught at Prague and Paris.

One of the three surviving commentaries of Wodeham's *Ordinatio*, or lectures on the first book of the *Sentences*, is found in Spain, and in many respects it is the best manuscript of the work. The text was apparently copied at Paris and brought to the Franciscan convent at Tarazona, from which it migrated to the cathedral library (Bibl. de la Catedral, cod. 7). Moreover, a quarter of all the manuscripts of Oyta's abbreviation of Wodeham's work are found in Catalonia, Navarre and in the nearby Languedoc region of France. The subject index to the work was compiled by the Spanish Augustinian, Master Pedro Garini, at the request of his confrere, Apparicius of Burgos (Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham* 54). Interestingly, both Spanish manuscripts of the Oyta abbreviation contain the index and seem to have been brought to Spain through the Augustinian Hermits rather than through the Franciscans. Later, in the opening years of the sixteenth century, the Parisian nominalist theologian, John Major, arranged for Oyta's abbreviation to be printed. Although Parisian libraries at the time contained copies of the work, two at the Sorbonne and two at the convent of the Augustinian Hermits, the copy Major used belonged to a Portuguese student, Pedro de Meneses, who was studying at Paris at the time.¹⁵ Beyond the quality of Meneses' manuscript copy, Major's comment reveals that Meneses was in contact and possibly studying with one of the most important theologians at Paris in the early sixteenth century, John Major.

Although very few scholars from the Iberian Peninsula can be numbered among the famous teachers at the University of Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Spanish and Portuguese students did attend the university. Iberian students not in a religious order – at least those for whom we have adequate information – came from wealthy families, rarely completed a degree, and were probably using their studies in Paris for reasons other than simply higher education in philosophy, theology, medicine, or canon law. Even some of the mendicant students from Spain and Portugal who made a mark for themselves at the University of Paris came from prominent families or were well connected within Iberian court culture or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. If not large in numbers, they were important in other ways, primarily as conduits of learning and

¹⁴ On Wodeham, see Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*; on differences between Ockham and Wodeham, see Tachau.

¹⁵ In the introduction to the 1512 printed edition of Oyta's abbreviation of Wodeham's *Sentences* commentary, Major remarked, 'sed illustris viri et eruditi Petri Menenes Lusitani in theosophia bacchalarii exemplar procuravimus mediocriter castigatum quod imitari pro maiori parte elaboravimus curantes ut tabula alphabetica ad folia et columnas adderetur.' Meneses was a paying resident of the Collège de Sorbonne (Farge 322–4).

manuscripts from Paris and northern Europe into the schools, convents, and cathedral chapters of Iberia.

It was largely as recipients and preservers of scholastic thought and texts that the Iberians made a major contribution to the history of late scholasticism. Without the large number of the scholastic manuscripts preserved in Spanish and Portuguese libraries, our knowledge of the diffusion of texts and the corresponding information on contacts and communication within the late medieval world would be considerably reduced. And without several of those manuscripts, we would not have access to the best textual transmission of the work of many late medieval scholastic authors. That in itself is a major contribution.

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The Primary Audience and Contexts of Reception of Thirteenth-Century Castilian *cuaderna vía* Poetry

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Thirteenth-century Castilian *cuaderna vía* poems share a common system of literary production and communication. While the act of writing and the individual reading of sources played an essential role in their creation, these works were intended originally to be read aloud to a stable, homogeneous audience.¹ This would explain why authors of the sources, authors of the Romance poems, scribes, vocal emitters and receptors are all inscribed in the extant texts as co-creators (Ancos García, ‘El Autor’ and ‘La forma primaria’ 396–419). For the most part, it seems clear that the authors of the vernacular poems and their scribes, as well as the authors of the sources, were male *clerici*, either in the cultural and/or the professional sense (Ancos García, ‘El Autor’ and ‘La forma primaria’ 420–1).² Here, I shall argue that the same is true of the vocal emitter and the primary audience of most of the Romance texts.³

¹ For questions concerning the ways in which *cuaderna vía* poetry was delivered and received and their implications for the extant texts, see the pioneering article by Gybbon-Monypenny. More recent considerations are found in, e.g., Gómez Redondo, ‘Narradores’; Grande Quejigo, ‘Orígenes’ and *Hagiografía* 210; Marimón Llorca 71–9; Uría Maqua, ‘La forma’ and *Panorama* 134–53; and Ancos García, ‘La forma primaria’ 242–447. For opinions different from those expressed above, see Bailey and the ambitious book by Weiss. Both studies appeared while the present article was in press.

² For the polysemy of the word *clericus* in the Middle Ages, see, e.g., Clanchy 226–7; Stock 26–7; Vitz 49–51; and Ancos García, ‘La forma primaria’ 57–61.

³ The following abbreviations and editions are used in reference to the poems: *LAlex* (*Libro de Alexandre*), ed. Cañas (variant readings are given from Willis’ paleographic edition); *LApol* (*Libro de Apolonio*), ed. Corbella; *PF* (*Poema de Fernán González*), critical text by López Guil (problematic manuscript readings are given from the paleographic transcription included in her edition of the poem). From Berceo’s corpus: *Duelo* (*El duelo de la Virgen*), ed. Orduna; *Himnos*, ed. García; *Loores* (*Loores de Nuestra Señora*), ed. Salvador Miguel; *MNS* (*Milagros de Nuestra Señora*), ed. Baños Vallejo; *MSL* (*Martirio de San Lorenzo*), ed. Tesauro; *PSO* (*Poema de Santa Oria*), ed. Uría Maqua; *Sacrificio* (*Del sacrificio de la misa*), ed. Cátedra; *Signos* (*Los signos del juicio final*), ed. García; *VSD* (*Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*), ed. Ruffinatto; *VSM* (*Vida de San Millán de la Cogolla*), ed. Dutton. I generally follow these editions, but do not graphically mark the caesura between hemistichs. I also resolve without mention abbreviations and superscript characters, transcribe the Tironian *et* as &, and correct obvious typographical errors. Textual citations from the above editions are referenced

First, I shall consider aspects of the works' immediate context of reception. In Gonzalo de Berceo's *vsm*, for instance, the narrator tells us that the saint-to-be flees to the area surrounding the San Lorenzo peak, where 'encara oy en día parecen los altares, / los que estonz fizieron los sos santos polgares' (49cd). These altars must have been near the upper monastery of San Millán and are not mentioned in Braulio's *Vita S. Emiliani*, the passage's Latin source. However, while the Romance text adds reference to the altars, it fails to indicate their proximity to the monastery. Had Berceo expected the work to be read aloud/heard in either of the two houses dedicated to Millán, a deictic reference to the altars through an adverb or place expression would be expected. Such reference does not occur.⁴

The last stanzas of *vsm* are also significant:

El Rei de los cielos al so siervo leal [Millán],
 dióli grand privilegio, un dono specíal:
 quando faze grand seca, tuerce el temporal,
todos por ganar pluya vienen al su [portal (MSS Mecolaeta and L, Silos MS 56) / corral (MS Ibarreta)].
 Quando devotamientre van al su oradero,
 e lievan el so cuerpo do yogo de primero,
 esto vid por mis ojos e só ende certero,
 luego dona Dios pluya e sabroso tempero.
 Dues campaniellas *pienden* sobre el so altar [de Millán, en el
 monasterio de suso],
 de la sogá qe suele la corona colgar;
pueden como dos uezos non mayores estar,
 si omne bien non cata no las podrié asmar. (483–5; emphasis added)
 Assí pueda la gloria del Criador veer,
 como por *mis* orejas las oí yo tanner. (487ab; emphasis added)
 Muchas otras noblezas, de precio muy mayor,
cuntecen en la casa del santo confessor;
 Dios por sue santa gracia *nos* dé la sue amor,
 el libro es complido gracias al Criador. (488; emphasis added)

In the above, the audience is categorized as distinct from the group that visits the saint's oratory, systematically referred to as *they*, as well as distanced from the

by strophe or line number; however when referring to the editorial material itself (notes, introductions, etc.) or to other editions of the poems, page numbers are indicated. When citing from paleographic editions, I suppress all transcription codes and unify the graphic appearance of certain letters (such as *s*). For *psO*, I indicate first, in Arabic numerals, the lines or stanzas of the poem according to Uría Maqua's edition, followed by, in Roman numerals, the lines or stanzas as they appear in the extant manuscripts, when different. Other changes or editions used are indicated and explained individually as required. Casas Rigall's superb edition of *LALex* appeared while this article was in the final page-proof stage.

⁴ Whether critics postulate a largely literate or illiterate audience, many seem to suggest that this poem was intended to be primarily delivered and received in or near the monastery of San Millán (see, e.g., Dutton's edition of *vsm* 185; Uría Maqua, 'La forma' 110–15 and *Panorama* 152; Grande Quejigo, *Hagiografía* 187–324; and Lappin, *Medieval Cult* 263). For a survey of the scholarship in this regard, see Ancos García, 'La forma primaria' 151–241.

oratory itself, which is treated as a *there* in relation to the *here*, where the vocalization of the poem takes place. A collective receptor then appears as an inclusive *we* in line 488c. In addition, the narrator describes the oratory and states that he was there and witnessed the prodigies he now relates (note the use of the preterite – *vid*, *oí* – in 484c and 487b).⁵ These miracles still occur in the oratory (483cd, 484ab, 484d and 485; note the switch to the present tense in 488ab), when neither the narrator (author, vocal emitter or both) nor the audience seem to be there.

Something similar could be said about PSO. In stanzas 183–4 (CLXXX–CLXXXI), the narrator explains in detail where Oria's tomb is located (near San Millán de Suso), but never indicates its proximity to the place where the poem is to be read aloud.⁶ The same happens in VSD, in relation to Silos. Stanzas 384–6 provide a transition, absent in the Latin source, between miracles:

Todos los sus miraglos [de Domingo] ¿quí los podríe contar?
 No lis dariemos cabo nin avriemos vagar;
 ennos que son contados lo podeades asmar
 de quál mérito era el barón de prestar.
 Si de oír miráculos avedes grand sabor,
 corred al monesterio del sancto confessor,
 por ojo los veredes, sabervos an mejor,
 ca cutiano los face, gracias al Criador.
 Hi fallaredes muchos que son end sabidores,
 siquiere de mancebos, siquiere de mayores,
 decir vos an mil pares de tales e mejores,
 qui sacarlos quisiere busque escrividores.

The narrator asks the receptors to run to the monastery if they wish to hear, witness or have more miracles in writing, which suggests that Berceo did not expect the primary dissemination of the work to be in the monastery at Silos (see Ruffinatto 15, as well as his edition of VSD 354n385).

Similarly, it does not seem that PFG was composed for primary delivery in the monastery of Arlanza, although the author has been linked to that place (see, e.g.,

⁵ The switch from *they* to *we* does not occur in the different versions of Fernandus' *Liber miraculorum*, the probable source of this passage. However, both Romance poem and Latin source coincide in that the narrator presents himself as a witness (Dutton's edition of vsm 247–9; Grande Quejigo, *Hagiografía* 161–3).

⁶ Among other reasons, which include the length and complexity of the poem and the lack of external evidence, this makes problematic Lappin's contention that PSO was intended to be vocally delivered near Oria's shrine as the sermon for the mass on her feast-day (see his Berceo's 'Vida de Santa Oria' 3, 8, 44, 90n1 and 105n19b). Lappin's textual support for this assertion, a rather debatable reading of lines 23b (xixb) and 189d (CLXXXVIII), is inconclusive.

López Guil in her edition of PFG 25). Instead, San Pedro is treated as a *there* in relation to the place where the poem was to be read aloud:

Fallaron [las tropas cristianas] de marfyl arquetas muy preçiadadas,
con tantas de noblezas que non serién contadas;
fueron pora San Pedro las más d'aquellas dadas:
están en su altar oy día asentadas. (273)
con toda su ganancia a San Pedro venieron. (274d)
Quand' fueron y llegados a Dios graçias rendieron. (275a)

This impression is reinforced by the introduction of the monastery's name in line 228d ('San Pedro avié nonbre essa casa sagrada'), which seems illogical if the poem was intended to be vocalized there.

When it comes to the geographical origin of the work's contemporary audience, Dutton states in his edition of vsm (184–5) that stanzas 479–80 are directed at the villagers who should pay *tributo* to the monastery of San Millán:

Si estos votos [de Fernán González y de Ramiro de León] fuessen
lealment enviados,
estos santos preciosos [Millán y Santiago] serién nuestros pagados,
avriemos pan e vino, temporales temprados,
non seriemos com somos de tristicia menguados.
Amigos e sennores, entenderlo podedes,
qe a estos dos santos en debda lis yazedes;
d'esto seet seguros, qe bien vos fallaredes
si bien lis enviáredes esto qe lis deveedes. (479–80)

For Dutton, these stanzas are evidence of the propagandistic nature of vsm.⁷ It is true that the *votos* referred to in this passage include those made by Fernán González, which required payments to the monastery of San Millán. But they also refer to those of King Ramiro of León, who prescribed a *tributo* to Santiago, as stated in stanzas 418–25. The plural *you* in stanza 480, quoted above, refers to a collective audience subject to *tributos*, either to San Millán (the Castilians) or to Santiago (the Leonese). In the first half of the thirteenth century, this potentially double audience would have widened the poem's expected context of delivery and reception to all the Christian, Castilian-speaking kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.

Similarly, PFG reveals a primary listener who lives in Spain:

⁷ The propagandistic theory was developed by Dutton in his 1967 edition of vsm (and maintained in the 1984 edition 1–59, 177–203 and 231–51), where he applied it to other poems by Berceo. His thesis received wide support. For an account of the scholarship on this respect, see Ancos García, 'La forma primaria' 185–238. Recently, some critics have challenged Dutton's views (see Uría Maqua, *Panorama* 140–4; Grande Quejigo, *Hagiografía* 241–7; Baños Vallejo, *Las vidas de santos* 162–73 and the introduction to his edition of MNS xxxix–xli; and, for vSD, Lappin, *Medieval Cult* 254–64).

mejor que otras tierras es la que vós morades [España],
 de todo bien conplida es la que vós estades.⁸ (145bc)
 Com' ella [España] es mejor de las sus vezindades,
 sodes mejores quantos en España morades. (156ab)

It is striking that the narrator, through the constant use of *vos* to address the audience, seems to exclude himself from those who reside or were born in Spain. It is also worth noting that, although it is stated that 'de toda Spaña, Castyella es mejor' (157a), Spain then disappearing from the narrative, the narrator always refers to the Castilians as *they* and to Castile as *there* (162a, 172cd, 173a, 595a, 596a, 597a, 599ab, 599d, 648c, 671a and 671c). He never includes the receptor as part of the group of people who were born or reside in Old Castile. Was the narrator (author and/or vocal emitter) not a Spaniard? Was his audience not (only) Castilian?

VSM and PFG stand out among these poems for their emphasis on the audience's geographical demarcation. However, they share with the other works a collective listener explicitly characterized by the Christian faith. In each poem, examples can be found in which the narrator and the receptor form part of the *we* of a shared Christianity.⁹ This particularly occurs at the beginning and end of the poems and at junctures between narrative segments. The whole work, along with all those who participate in its literary communication, is set into an unmistakably Christian framework. In addition, the narrator (author and vocal emitter of the poem) often adopts the attributes and attitude of a preacher. This invests him with a certain moral and intellectual authority and, I would suggest, conditions the kind of person that would ideally read the poems aloud. Thus, at the end of *LApol*, a switch from the third person to an inclusive *we* unites narrator and receptor in the praise of God (Surtz 333–4; Ancos García, 'Vocalidad' 49–50; Corbella in her edition of *LApol* 284n651):

finó [Apolonio] como buen rey en buena ffin conplida.
 Muerto es Apolonyo, nos a morir auemos,
 por quanto nos amamos, la fin non oluidemos;
 qual aquí fiziéremos, allá tal recibremos,
 allá hiremos todos, nunca aquá saldremos. (650d–651)

Additionally, stanza 656, a colophon in the form of a prayer, requires the audience's answer, which is inscribed in the manuscript itself by the repetition of the word *amen*:

⁸ The manuscript reading for line 145b is: 'mejores son que otras tierras enlas que vos morades'. To further complicate the passage, line 145c reads: 'de todo es bien conplida enla quevos estades'. All modern editors alter the manuscript readings to offer a version similar to the one given by López Guil, quoted above.

⁹ See, e.g., *LAlex* (279cd), *LApol* (110d), PFG (59), VSM (396cd), VSD (777a), PSO (1ab), MSL (30a and 30d), MNS (18), *Duelo* (11c), *Loores* (187), *Himnos* (III, 2a), *Sacrificio* (281a),

El Sennyor que los vientos & la mar ha por mandar,
 Él nos dé la ssu graçia & Él nos denye guiar;
 Él nos dexe tales cosas comedir & obrar
 que por la ssu merçed podamos escapar.
 El que houiére sseso responda & diga Amen.
 A-.M.-E-.N.- deus.-

Like *LApol*, and accentuating a tendency already present in the sources, *LAlex* (MS Osuna), VSM, VSD, PSO, the first two *Himnos*, *Signos* and six of the MNS also close with an *amen* that requires the open assent of the hearers.

Inclusion of the listeners is also achieved through the frequent use of vocatives. The following are found in eight poems: *señores* (used twenty times), *señores e amigos* (eleven), *amigos* (eight), *amigos e señores* (four), *amigos e vassallos de Dios omnipotent* (one) and *señores e hermanos* (one).¹⁰ The vocatives are always plural: in these poems there is not a single trace of an individual receptor, just as there is not a single trace of ocular, individual reading as a means to access the texts. It is also worth mentioning that women never appear as part of the public and that, in VSD and MNS, Berceo consciously changes the vocative system used in the Latin sources when addressing the receptor: *Fratres karissimi*, *dilecti fratres* or *fratres dilectissimi* become *señores*, *amigos* or any combination of these.¹¹ It is true that the masculine plural form in Spanish can refer to a group of males and females, and the above-mentioned vocatives are the commonest in the literature of the time. It is significant, though, that these are the only ones used. This is particularly notable in the case of PSO, which, due to its content and tone, has often been regarded as addressing a primary audience of nuns (Ruffinatto 22; Uría Maqua, 'La forma' 115 and *Panorama* 152). However, while none of the receptors is referred to as feminine, when the extradiegetic narrator

Signos (36d and 47c). In MSL and *Duelo*, the inclusive *we* unites the intradiegetic narrator and receptor. However, in both cases it seems obvious that the extradiegetic narrator and audience must also form part, by extension, of that Christian community.

¹⁰ The texts and lines where these vocatives can be found are: *señores* (*LAlex* 1a, 2424a, 2669c, 2670a, 2673a; VSM 108a, 109a, 320a, 362a; VSD 287a, 288a, 315a, 754a, 759a; PSO 187a, CLXXXVa; MNS 583a, 859a; *Loores* 167c; *Sacrificio* 157a; *Signos* 1a); *señores e amigos* (VSM 317a, 435a; VSD 533a; MNS 16a, 42a, 182a, 497a, 500a – followed by the apposition 'compañas de prestar'; *Sacrificio* 143a – followed by the apposition 'vasos del Criador', 234a, 297a); *amigos* (*LAlex* 2398 [MS O] and, in the Trojan digression and theoretically addressed to Alexander's troops as intradiegetic receptors, 719a; MNS 74a, 75a, 625a, 863a; *Loores* 187a; *Sacrificio* 193a); *amigos e señores* (VSM 480a; VSD 349a; MNS 44d; *Loores* 181a); *amigos e vassallos de Dios omnipotent* (MNS 1a); *señores e hermanos* (*Loores* 166a).

¹¹ See, e.g., VSD (533a) and MNS (497a and 500a), and cf. the corresponding passages in, respectively, the *Vita Dominici Siliensis* (I, 23; Valcárcel 312–13) and miracle XXI of the Latin collection included in MS Thott 128 of the Copenhagen Royal Library (Carrera de la Red and Carrera de la Red 236–7) and MS 110 of the Madrid National Library (Baños Vallejo in his edition of MNS 368).

refers to mixed groups of characters or when some characters refer to others as internal receptors of messages, women are habitually and explicitly included in the poems as *christianas e christianos*, *mugieres e varones*, etc.¹² If the group of characters is exclusively female (as has been said about the extradiegetic receptor of PSO), then the term used is feminine: *amigas* or *dueñas* (e.g., MNS 553 and 561; *LApol* 593), but not *señores*. All this suggests that Berceo, while seeking a male public, did not foresee, at least in the case of MNS and VSD, the monastic audience that may be inferred from the sources as exclusive.

The use of the inclusive *we* allows us to understand further the nature of the poems' audience. In *Loores*, the three Marys' announcement of Christ's resurrection leads the narrator to praise women:

Unas buenas mugieres del sepulcro vinieron,
estas nuevas tan buenas [la resurrección de Cristo] ellas nos las
dixieron. (108ab)
A la mugier en esto grant gracia li acrovo,
todo l' á mejorado el tuerto que nos tovo;
en esto con lo ál grant privilegio ovo:
por mugieres al mundo grant alegría crovo.
Si por mugier füemos e por fuste perdidos,
por mugier e por fuste somos ya redemidos;
por essos mismos grados que fuemos confondidos,
somos en los solares antigos revestidos.
Madre, el tu linage mucho es enalçado;
si Eva falta fiço, Tú lo as adobado;
bien parece que Christo fue vuestro abogado;
por ti es tu linage, Señora, desreptado. (109–11)

Here, the third-person singular or plural is always used in reference to females: the woman (*she*) or women (*they*) condemned humanity, but then co-redeemed it, the narrator says. In no instance are women included in the first-person plural or explicitly alluded to as *vos*. In fact, many other passages of *Loores* reveal a male audience of ordained clerics. For instance, in lines 180ab the narrator (both author and vocal emitter) states: 'Quand' era en la glesia, las horas m' enojavan; / los pensamientos vanos de seso me sacavan.' He had stated before that God 'siete veces al día se quier' de nos loar' (144c), clearly including the audience, the author and the person who read the poem aloud as part of the group that prays the canonical hours. Moreover, in stanzas 227–30, the narrator asks Mary to help and protect humanity. The only group addressed as *we* is that of the regular and secular clerics, as stanza 228 demonstrates:

Madre, contién' las órdenes, salva las clerecías,
alarga la credencia, defiende las mongías;

¹² See, e.g., *LAlex* (223, 758, 867–8, 933, 1114 [MS O], 1276 [MS Paris], 1538); *LApol* (305); PFG (95, 432); VSM (87); VSD (270, 275); PSO (39, xxxvi); MSL (53); and MNS (388, 541).

siempre mester t'avemos las noches e los días,
ca nuestras voluntades de tod' bien son vacías.

As is usual in thirteenth-century *cuaderna vía* poems, these final stanzas are in the form of a prayer. As such, they seem to require the audience to join the person reading aloud in its verbalization or, at least, silently to repeat and assent to what the narrator says. If this is so, author, vocal emitter and receptor seem united in a *we*, characterized in the lines quoted above as members of the clergy.

Similarly, in the last stanzas of *vsd*, also in the form of a prayer, the narrator begs: 'Señor [Domingo], tú nos ayuda que seamos varones, / que vencer no nos puedan las malas tentaciones' (763cd). *Nos* includes author, vocal emitter and receptor as part of the group of *varones*.¹³ In *vsm*, the author attributes to himself and the person who reads the poem the ability to intone the *Tu autem Domine, miserere nobis*, stating that he is going to 'dezir "Tu autem Dómine", la lección acabar' (482d). The same expression is also used in stanza 429 of *mns* and in stanza 752 of *vsd*, but cannot be found in any of these poems' sources. While I do not believe that the use of this concluding cliché denotes an exclusively monastic audience, it does indicate that the public could recognize the meaning and function of the expression.¹⁴

As mentioned above, in *vsd* (384–6) the narrator encourages the audience to run to the Silos monastery to hear more miracles, see them and, perhaps, have them written down. What kind of public would want to (or could) order the writing of miracles? Stock studies the case of Bernard of Angers, who, in the first half of the eleventh century, compiled a version of Saint Foy's miracles from oral sources at the instance of one of his superiors (64–71). Two hundred years later, in ten of Berceo's twenty-five Marian miracles (III, VIII, XII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIII and XXV), the narrator states that one or several characters decided to write down the Virgin's miracle to preserve it for human memory. The Latin source does not provide similar information. Although sometimes the initiative to put the miracle in writing is attributed to the common people, it is much more usual for a religious authority, such as an abbot or bishop, to order a written record of the miracle. The Latin *vitae* of Santo Domingo and San Millán were also commissioned by a high-ranking cleric. Is it possible that something similar could be said of Berceo's Romance hagiographical poems, or even of *mns*, if, as we have seen, they do not seem to have been composed for primary dissemination in Silos or in San Millán? I would like to suggest that *vsm*, for instance,

¹³ Lappin believes that a first version of *vsd* was written in 1233 to be performed in the royal court of Fernando III (*Medieval Cult* 224 and 254–64). There is no space here to discuss in detail Lappin's daring theories on the double redaction, composition date and context of reception of Berceo's poem. Labeling the listeners as *varones*, however, speaks against the likelihood of a primary audience of men and women.

¹⁴ Molina thinks that line 482d of *vsm* demonstrates that Berceo addressed his poem to monks, since the *Tu autem* was said at the end of each reading of the morning office (11).

had been similarly requested by someone who did not belong to the monastery, maybe someone related to the University of Palencia, who was familiar with Berceo's poetic abilities and could appreciate the technical subtleties of a new and complex kind of work. Berceo wrote *vsm* before 1236, probably around 1230, according to Dutton ('A Chronology'). It is also believed that Berceo studied in Palencia between 1222 and 1227 (Dutton, 'French Influences'; Uría Maqua, 'Sobre la unidad' and *Panorama* 269). He was sent there from San Millán, where he later returned to work, although perhaps his duties were frequently conducted outside the monastery (Rico 136). It is even possible that he composed this text in the university town, given that in the poem's conclusion the narrator claims to have seen and heard in the past and *in situ* certain miracles that are still occurring in the monastery, referred to as *there* (*vsm* 483–5 and 487–8). If this were so, *vsm*'s supposed composition date would need to be altered by three or four years.¹⁵ Taking the lead from Amador de los Ríos' and Menéndez y Pelayo's early ideas, some scholars have recently emphasized the essential role of scholastic education in general and the University of Palencia in particular in the *mester de clerecía*'s origin and development.¹⁶ The scholarly and clerical atmosphere (in the cultural as well as religious-secular sense), fostered by the educational developments of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, may have been the context in which many of these works were disseminated and received.

That aside, some of our texts seem to exclude certain social groups as primary receptors. This happens, for example, with the pilgrims in *vsd*. Towards the end of the poem, the narrator prays to Santo Domingo:

Ruega por los enfermos, gánalis sanidad,
piensa de los captivos, gánalis enguadad,
a los peregrinantes gana seguridad,
que tenga a derecho su ley la christiandad. (773)

Ruffinatto believes that the mention of *peregrinantes* among those who need the saint's aid suggests that the work was addressed in part to an audience of pilgrims on their way to Santiago (19, and see also his edition of *vsd* 452n773c). However,

However, Green has noted the use of *Tu autem* as a conclusion formula in medieval German texts, some of which seem to address a lay audience (78–9).

¹⁵ For a reconsideration of the composition dates of *vsm* and *vsd*, see Lappin, *Medieval Cult* 254–64. While Lappin's contention of an early composition date for *vsd* is possible, although debatable, his assertion that *vsm* was written after *vsd* seems unsubstantiated. Also unsupported is his affirmation that while *vsd* was destined to a sophisticated courtly audience, 'the *Vida de San Millán* would seem to have been written for the local Riojan peasantry, yeomen and townsfolk' (263).

¹⁶ The bibliography on this question is too large to cite here in detail. For a critical account, Uría Maqua's *Panorama* is essential, especially 57–69. See also Ancos García, 'La forma primaria' 151–241.

this stanza also includes the ill and captives, since the narrator is summarizing at this point and remembers the three groups most favored by the saint. Following Ruffinatto's reasoning, we should also infer a public of sick people and captives. In my opinion, the use of *they* in stanza 773 actually excludes these three groups as typical receptors, since in the surrounding stanzas (754–6, 762–3, 766–72, 777) narrator and audience are lumped together in an inclusive *we* that changes into *they* only when reference is made to *enfermos*, *captivos* and *peregrinantes*. In addition, the treatment of pilgrims in this text does not portray them as a very attractive public, especially if one considers the work as propaganda intended to obtain economic benefits from the audience, as does Ruffinatto. Pilgrims are always presented as poor and needy, if not as obnoxious rogues and thieves; they are always asking, never giving (VSD 105c, 408abc, 469a, 479cd and 688c).¹⁷ Furthermore, this negative opinion seems proverbial in view of lines 620ab: 'Como diz el proverbio que fabla por razón, / que el romero fito éssi saca ración.'

VSD is not the only poem in which, contrary to its Latin sources, we find criticism of pilgrims or their depiction as a group from which no profit will be gained. The same is true in *LApol* (e.g., 151, 164, 275, 457 and 513) and *LAlex* (e.g., 1124 and 2486). The phenomenon is particularly striking in MNS, which repeatedly has been considered as having a pilgrim audience.¹⁸ In miracle XXII, the narrator states that the shipwrecked man saved by Mary 'semejava que era romeruelo mesquino' (604d), because of his pitiful condition. Teófilo, in miracle XXIV, 'acogíe los romeos que vinién fridolientos' (708b). And in 'La iglesia robada' (miracle xxv) the main characters' act of burglary is twice labeled as a pilgrimage (887d and 891b). In several poems, Berceo develops the topics of *peregrinatio vitae* and *homo viator* (e.g., MNS 17–19; *Sacrificio* 171). Metaphorically speaking, his entire audience was one of pilgrims, since, according to the poet and to religious tradition, everyone is a *romero* in this world. However, we should not jump to the conclusion that these metaphorical pilgrims were also real ones. In addition to their less-than-favorable depiction, the *peregrinos* are always referred to as *they*, thus distinct from both the narrator and the receptor: for example, in the final stanzas of VSD (773), *Duelo* (206) and *Sacrificio* (296–7).

On the other hand, both *Duelo* and *Sacrificio*, like *Loores*, clearly suggest a clerical audience, at least in the religious sense. *Duelo*'s stanza 208 reads:

Madre a Ti comendo mi vida, mis andadas,
mi alma e mi cuerpo, las órdenes tomadas,
mis pies e mis manos, pero que consagradas,
mis ojos, que no vean cosas desordenadas.

¹⁷ Another socio-professional group generally disdained by Berceo are the *merinos*. See, e.g., VSD (58d), VSM (184d), MNS (581d) or *Signos* (45d); and, for a survey of the scholarship on Berceo's attitude towards these judges, see Baños Vallejo's edition of MNS 332n581d.

¹⁸ This view is defended, e.g., by Dutton (*Los milagros de Nuestra Señora* 1–12) as well as by Wilkins, Gerli, and Kelley, 'Ascendant Eloquence' 74–5 (but see also her 'Spinning' 820).

Sánchez, the first modern editor of *Duelo*, noticed that 208bc indicate that Berceo must have been a priest when he wrote the lines (433n1; see also Ramoneda 210–11n208; and Dutton, *El duelo* 52n208c). I believe that the clerical status should be extended to the work's vocal emitter as well. Otherwise, we would have to accept that a lay person would stand before his public (clerical, as we are about to see) and pretend to be a *clérigo ordenado*.

As regards this audience, *Duelo*'s final stanzas typically invite the hearers to repeat the prayer they contain, either vocally or mentally. Thus the receptors must have shared the narrator's status as ordained cleric. The same can be said of *Sacrificio*. I quote here a few lines in which a clerical receptor (in the religious sense) seems obvious:

Si nós derechamiente quisiéremos andar,
lo que pronunciamos [al consagrar la Hostia] devémoslo obrar. (181ab)
Si nós tales non somos en dezir e en far,
non somos derechos vicarios del altar. (183cd)¹⁹

As Andrachuk has observed (26), in the above passage the inclusive *we* involves a narrator and receptors who are 'vicarios del altar', can say Mass and consecrate the Host. For the same reasons as noted in *Duelo*, I believe this clerical condition of narrator-author and audience should be extended to the vocal emitter. Otherwise, the vocalization of the text by a person not authorized to perform those actions might lead to irony, which could undermine the poem's serious doctrinal content.

Similarly, in *LAlex*, after Darius' death, the narrator inserts a moral digression in which he mentions several social groups that live without considering their own mortality. These groups, which include high-ranking clerics, are alluded to as *they*. However, when talking about minor *clérigos*, the narrator switches from the third-person plural to an inclusive *we*: 'Somos [los simples clérigos (MS P) / siempre los clérigos (MS O)] errados e viçiosos, / los prelados mayores ricos e desdenosos, / en prender son agudos, en lo al perezosos' (1824abc). This religious-clerical condition would be applicable to anyone associated with the narrator: author, vocal emitter or even scribe; but it also implies the audience, who become incorporated in the text through the use of *we* (Ancos García, 'El Autor' 33–4).²⁰

¹⁹ See also stanzas 70, 95, 99, 143–4, 170 and 174–5. The clerical condition of *Sacrificio*'s audience has been very convincingly pointed out by, among others, Andrachuk; Uría Maqua, 'La forma' and *Panorama* 150–2; Grande Quejigo, *Hagiografía* 196–8; and Cátedra in his edition of *Sacrificio* 935–43 and *passim*. In view of their arguments, Capuano's theory of a public of laborers does not seem plausible.

²⁰ Gómez Redondo considers that stanzas 1956–7 and 2508 of *LAlex* suggest a scholastic milieu as the more appropriate context for the dissemination and reception of the poem ('Narradores' 268–9). In view of the inclusion of Aristotle's advice to the young Alexander (*LAlex* 51–84), Willis believes that the poem was a sort of *speculum principis* ('Mester de clerecía' 222–4; for a similar opinion, see Cañas' edition of *LAlex* 146n, and especially

Other instances in *LALex*, PFG and some poems by Berceo (VSM, VSD, PSO, MNS, *Loores*, *Sacrificio* and probably *Duelo*) reveal a learned, if not ordained, public. In these texts, the verb *leer* is frequently used to designate the way in which the sources of the vernacular poems were received. Sometimes, the subject of *leer* is an *I* that can be identified with the author. However, very often the subject is *we*. In some cases it seems to include the author, vocal emitter and even the listeners, which suggests an audience that would be able to listen to the vernacular poem as well as access the Latin source.²¹ In particular, three poems (PSO, *LApol* and *LALex*) explicitly direct the audience to the Latin source to confirm certain information or gather more data on a specific topic. In PSO, the narrator tells the public: ‘si su vida leyerdes [la vida latina de la santa] assí lo probaredes [que vivió emparedada]’ (24d, vid).²² Lines 372ab of *LApol* are also significant: ‘Su nombre fue Teófilo, si lo saber queredes, / catatlo en la estoria si a mí non creyedes.’ *Catatlo* implies the receptor’s ocular consultation of the Latin source.²³ In lines 1492cd of *LALex*

Arizaleta, *La Translation* 226–61 and ‘Alexandre’). Gómez Redondo states that ‘por supuesto, no puede ser el mismo el público al que Berceo dirige sus poemas, que el del *Libro de Alexandre* o el del *Libro de Apolonio*’ (‘El fermoso fablar’ 236n). However, the above-mentioned passage of *LALex* seems to imply a creation and communication of the poem dominated by ordained clerics. Of course, these *clérigos ordenados* could also be clerics in the cultural sense, since they could have been (or still be) part of the higher education community as students and/or teachers. *LALex* is a complex, multifaceted poem with a variety of possible intentions and functions. I would like to suggest that, among its many possible purposes, the individual or collective author of *LALex* intended the poem to be also a sort of preachers’ manual. The narrator expects that the receptor will learn and retell (*retraer*) some of the narratives contained in the book (3), categorizes the whole text as a *sermonario* (1957b) and calls *sermonielllos* some superfluous materials in the book (1761a [MS O]). Similarly, Aristotle’s advice to Alexander is considered a *sermón* (48c) and the narrator calls the history of Troy (332a and 762a) and some speeches by Alexander (206a, 206d [MS O], 262b [MS O] and 2622d) and Nestor (728a) *sermones*. Once the narrative portion of the Trojan digression has ended and Alexander introduces his moralization, the narrator explicitly compares the narrative and rhetorical techniques of the character with those of preachers:

Pero com’ es costumbre de los predicadores
en cabo del sermón [adoban (MS P) / aguisar (MS O)] sus [razones (MS O) /
sermones (MS P)],
fue aduziendo él [unos estraños motes (MS P) / unas estrañas conclusiones (MS O)].

(763abc)

Therefore, it seems clear that *LALex* assumes an audience familiar with sermon techniques. This fits very well with the public of ordained clerics postulated above.

²¹ See, e.g., *LALex* (2164b, 2390ab, 2508, 2604ab); PFG (684ab, 720); VSM (26cd); VSD (27cd, 28, 171ab, 227, 549b, 677a); PSO (11, IV); MNS (42, 101ab, 143, 377, 582, 586, 673abc); *Duelo* (101); *Loores* (103cd, 119ab, 142, 155a); and *Sacrificio* (95). For the development of this idea, see Ancos García, ‘La forma primaria’ 349–68 and 636–41.

²² Lappin believes that stanza 24 (vi) refers not to Oria but Amunia, her mother (see his Berceo’s ‘*Vida de Santa Oria*’ 11–12, 95n6 and 200–1n171c). Therefore, the mentioned *vida* would not be Munio’s lost Latin life of Oria, but an equally lost record of Amunia’s mortifications and penances. I do not subscribe to this view, but, if true, it would not contradict my argument here.

²³ See Ancos García, ‘Vocalidad’ 52–3. In this article, a primary courtly-clerical context of delivery and reception for *LApol* is also suggested.

(MS O), the curious audience is sent to consult the source of the lapidary included in the Babylonian digression, that is, Book XVI of Saint Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*: 'qui más quisier saber [sobre las piedras], busqu' allá do son [nadas (MS P) / notadas (MS O)], / ca yo quiero fincar con las que he contadas.' In addition, stanza 43 of *Duelo* indirectly suggests an audience that is familiar with the Gospels of Matthew and John, and therefore needs few details on the passion of Christ; while in stanzas 411–12 of MNS the public is sent to consult texts containing miracles of the Virgin as proof that Mary's prodigies grow every day. Literally interpreted (and I do not see any reason not to do so), these examples suggest an audience able to access Latin texts, that is, a clerical audience in the cultural sense of the word.

To conclude, thirteenth-century *cuaderna vía* poems present a multiple creative voice that conflates those of the authors of the vernacular poems, their vocal emitters and scribes, their audience and the authors of the textual sources. In some cases (*LAlex*, *Sacrificio*, *Loores*, *Duelo*) this multiple voice appears to be clearly both male and clerical in the religious sense. VSM, VSD, MNS, *Signos*, PSO, *LApol* and PFG also contain clues pointing to male, cultural and/or professional clerical voices. This, I maintain, allows us to consider the thirteenth-century *cuaderna vía* production as a true *mester de clerecía* at all levels of its literary creation and communication.

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Editorial Interference in *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián*

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Around the turn of the sixteenth century, printers working throughout Castile found themselves in straits so dire that the years 1501–10 have been called ‘los años negros de la edición española’ (Berger 64). In spite of Crown and Church patronage, the death of several major printers working in Spain as well as the rise of monopolies abroad left Peninsular firms struggling to survive.¹ Desperate for income, Castilian printers began to devise ways to attract the business of local readers. One strategy was the printing of previous works, especially fifteenth-century narratives, written in Spanish.² Some firms undertook to reprint popular works first published prior to 1500, including *Cárcel de amor*, *Celestina* and *Libro del Arcipreste de Talavera*. The success of this strategy inspired printers to develop entire ‘editorial genres’, or groups of works published to meet the growing demand for literary works written in Castilian, including love poetry, long and short chivalric romances and medieval chronicles.³ The driving economic interest behind the publication of older literature in sixteenth-century Spain leads Infantes to identify the printed book and its circulation as a type of commercial ‘interference’ between text and reader (115).⁴

¹ Bohigas (149–50), García Oro (11–32), Norton (*Printing* 117–24) and Simón Díaz (*El libro* 19–21) discuss the Catholic Monarchs’ generous policies towards the Peninsular printing industry. Norton details the close relationship between individual printers and their local prelates (*Printing* 41–5, 57 and 96–7). The fate of individual printers is discussed by Norton (*Printing* 8–10, 50 and 69). The influence of international firms on the Castilian print industry is documented by Berger 66–9, Bohigas 143–4 and 158, Moll 327–9, and Norton (*Printing* 6 and 134–7).

² For publication information and analysis, see Simón Díaz, ‘La literatura’ and Berger, both of whom derive their data from Norton (*A Descriptive Catalogue*) and Griffin.

³ The concept of the editorial genre has been discussed by Cruickshank; Díez Borque 28; Infantes 115; and Moll 325. For love poetry in print, see Severin 44–5. For short chivalric romances, see Baranda and Infantes 16, 27 and 35. For the lengthy books of chivalry, see Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 33–73. For publication information regarding Spanish medieval chronicles, see Campa 362; Lucía Megías and Rodríguez Velasco 428–9; and Bustos, ‘*Crónica general vulgata*’ 346, ‘*Crónica ocampiana*’ 356 and ‘*Estoria del fecho de los godos*’ 486.

⁴ These phenomena were not limited to sixteenth-century Castile. As Goldschmidt observes, printers throughout early modern Europe ‘resuscitated’ older texts in an attempt to

Consumer demand also obliged editors to tailor older material to meet contemporary tastes, a phenomenon I call 'editorial interference'. In some cases, the editors sought the public's approval through attractive formats. The prologue to Juan de Vilches' *Bernadina de illustris*, for example, promises that the printer Zapata of Seville 'os dará los buenos autores que deseáis [. . .] las obras enmendadas en sus tipos y adornadas con figuras' (qtd. in Domínguez Guzmán 283). Some sixteenth-century editors interfered with the text even further by altering its content. The author, when still living, may have participated in this interference. Severin believes this to be the case with Diego de San Pedro as he fashioned the *Pasión trobada*, a text known in manuscript and printed versions, which coincides in part with *Las siete angustias de Nuestra Señora*, and in its own right was printed both separately and as part of *Arnalte y Lucenda* (5–7). In other cases, a shared passage appears in editions of works by different authors, perhaps due to the editor who prepared the texts for print. Juan de Burgos' edition of *Tristán de Leonís* is particularly plagued with such passages: its prologue is copied from *Oliveros*; its epilogue is found in *Baladro del sabio Merlín*; its portrait of the heroine derives from *Crónica troyana*; and some descriptions and verses come from Juan de Flores' *Grimalte y Gradisa*.⁵ On the other hand, controversial passages documented in a medieval work may go missing from its printed version. Baranda and Infantes suggest this phenomenon may account for the fact that Castilian editions of *Flores y Blancaflor* do not include Flores' suicide attempt (25n78). Likewise, Bleca suspects that Gonzalo Argote de Molina eliminated from the 1575 edition of *El Conde Lucanor* the decapitation of a renegade priest in chapter 28 since it was ideologically offensive (79).

The above examples of editorial interference may be considered excessive in modern terms but were common in the early years of the Spanish printing industry. Older texts in particular presented early editors with challenges. Chief among these was the organization of the work into manageable sections. The prologue to *Oliveros*, for example, boasts that the work has been 'empremida con mucha diligencia & puesto en cada capitulo su ystoria, porque fuesse mas fructuosa & aplazible alos lectores & oydores' (45). Some authors responded to this type of emendation, as Rojas famously comments in the prologue to the *Tragicomedia*:

Que aun los impresores han dado sus punturas, poniendo rúbricas o sumarios al principio de cada acto, narrando en breve lo que dentro contenía; una cosa bien escusada según lo que los antiguos escritores usaron. (20)

meet the tastes of their reader-consumers (41–2). Goldschmidt also notes instances of editorial confusion in the attribution of some medieval works to different authors (86–8). He attributes this confusion to two factors: first, the often circuitous route of a text from manuscript to print; and second, the public's less stringent demands for textual accuracy (89). For these reasons, it is useful to keep in mind Goldschmidt's warning that early modern Europeans did not make the same distinctions between original and altered works, nor manuscript and print formats, as we do today (89–90).

⁵ For discussion of Juan de Burgos' possible responsibility for *Tristán's* content, see Cuesta Torre's introduction to her edition of *Tristán* (xxiii–xxvii); Lida de Malkiel, 'Arthurian Literature'; and Sharrer.

Although the addition of rubrics may seem inconsequential as regards the work's literary value, similar editorial touches continue to influence the way some of these works are received today. The *Libro del Arcipreste de Talavera*, for example, is known just as widely as *Corbacho* – the latter title derived from the explicit to the Seville 1498 edition: 'según algunos llamado Coruacho' (qtd. in Baños and Ciceri 169). Similarly, recent scholarship discusses the role of the Author, *Auctor* or *Autor* in San Pedro's sentimental masterpiece *Cárcel de amor*, in which the word *auctor* or *autor* actually appears only in chapter titles. Curiously, the prologue to *Tristán* adapts the above-cited *Oliveros* text to read: 'emprimida con mucha diligencia, y puesta de capítulo en capítulo su historia' (2; emphasis added). While this small emendation does not provide us with enough information to conclude that *Tristán*'s editors actually determined the text's chapters, the statement implies that the division of a text into chapters was not outside the editor's purview.

The editorial decision to divide a large work into smaller sections may explain the form in which we receive one of the printers' most successful finds: a late-fifteenth-century version of the story of Amadís of Gaul, attributed to Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo and published separately: *Los quatro libros del virtuoso cauallero Amadís de Gaula: complidos* (henceforth *Amadís*) and *Las sergas de Esplandián, hijo de Amadís de Gaula* (henceforth *Sergas*). Although the exact degree to which Montalvo altered his source material remains a mystery, the structure of his rewrite does not correspond to its form as edited in *Amadís* and *Sergas*. In the following sections, I shall review internal references made to the structure of the work in order to sketch its possible forms prior to printing.⁶ I then suggest that the division between *Amadís* in four books, or parts, and *Sergas* in one book may reflect an instance of editorial interference similar to the examples outlined above.

We lack, perhaps, the texts' first editions. Most bibliographers hypothesize at least one edition of *Amadís* prior to the extant Zaragoza 1508 (Eisenberg and Marín Pina 130). The earliest extant edition of *Sergas*, meanwhile, dates from 1521, eleven years after the earliest extant edition of its sequel, Ruy Páez de Ribera's *Florisando*.⁷ Neither do we have much in the way of evidence for

⁶ By 'internal references' I mean text contained in the narration, digressions and prologues. I attribute this text to 'the narrator' in order to avoid confusion between the fictional 'yo' of the narration and the various, real persons involved in the creative evolution of the Amadís story from its inception to its form in *Amadís* and *Sergas*. I exclude all tables, titles and rubrics as possibly written by an editor. These types of text are especially problematic in *Sergas*; as Sainz de la Maza notes, some forty-six intermittent chapter titles appear in *arte mayor* stanzas attributable to Alonso de Proaza (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 381n280). Quotations from *Amadís* are cited from Cacho Blecua's edition, while quotations from *Sergas* are cited from Sainz de la Maza's edition.

⁷ As Eisenberg and Marín Pina note, Hernán Colón's catalogue records a July 1510 edition of *Sergas* which still post-dates the April 1510 *Florisando* (223). The existence of the April 1510 *Florisando*, however, only proves the prior existence of a now-lost *Sergas*. The evidence gathered by Ramos and cited by Eisenberg and Marín Pina to support an *Amadís* edition prior to 1508 addresses possible dates of Montalvo's composition, not publication. While an earlier

comparison between print and manuscript versions of the story. Aside from the occasional reference to characters or episodes in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts, the only pre-1508 witness to *Amadís* is Bancroft MS 115, a few manuscript fragments of the adventures of Amadís and the young Esplandián.⁸ Yet all Castilian print editions, extant and lost, present *Amadís* in four books and *Sergas* as a separate fifth (Eisenberg and Marín Pina 130–9 and 223–5), while Páez de Ribera's *Florisando* is clearly advertised as '*el sexto libro del muy esforçado & grande rey Amadís de Gaula*' (fol. 1r; emphasis added). Foreign translations respect the division between *Amadís* and *Sergas* as well, with sixteenth-century Italian editions and seventeenth-century English editions conserving the four-book *Amadís* and the one-book *Sergas* (Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía* 464–6). The consistent trajectory of *Amadís* and *Sergas* in early-modern Castile and abroad suggests, at the very least, that the text was diffused and received principally in this form.

The division between *Amadís* and *Sergas* has often been defended by citing the prologue to *Amadís*, Book I:

E esto yo considerando, desseando que de mí alguna sombra de memoria quedasse, no me atreviendo a poner el mi flaco ingenio en aquello que los más cuerdos sabios se ocuparon, quísele juntar con estos postrimeros que las cosas más livianas y de menor substancia escrivieron, por ser a él según su flaqueza más conformes, corrigiendo *estos tres libros de Amadís*, que por falta de los malos escriptores, o componedores, muy corruptos y viciosos se leían, y trasladando y enmendando *el libro cuarto con las Sergas de Esplandián su hijo* [. . .]; *en los cuales cinco libros* como quiera que hasta aquí más por patrañas que por crónicas eran tenidos, son con las tales enmiendas acompañados de tales enxemplos y doctrinas, que con justa causa se podrán comparar a los livianos y febles saleros de corcho, que con tiras de oro y de plata son encarcelados y guarnescidos, porque assí los cavalleros mancebos como los más ancianos hallen en ellos lo que a cada uno conviene. (Rodríguez de Montalvo 225; emphasis added)

Since at least one late-medieval version of the Amadís story existed in three books, or parts, critics read '*estos tres libros*' to mean the form of the story prior to its rewrite, at which time a fourth part, '*el libro cuarto*', was added.⁹ 'Las

Amadís cannot be ruled out, it is also possible that the *años negros* delayed its publication until well into the Castilian printing industry's recovery.

⁸ For a concise summary of references to the Amadís story prior to 1508, see Riquer 7–35. The earliest mention of Amadís, circa 1350, is well documented and explained by Guardiola. The manuscript fragments are provided in facsimile and studied by Rodríguez Moñino, while a more recent, edited version can be found in Lucía Megías, *Antología* 487–96.

⁹ A three-book version of the Amadís story is confirmed by verses 57–63 of *Dezir de Pero Ferrez a Pero López de Ayala*, number 305 in the *Cancionero de Baena*: 'Amadís, el muy fermoso [. . .] sus proezas fallaredes en tres libros' (541). Classic studies regarding the early Amadís story and its subsequent revision(s) include Avalor-Arce; Lida de Malkiel, 'El desenlace'; Place, 'Fictional Evolution'; Riquer; and Williams. Cacho Bleuca provides a

Sergas de Esplandián' is interpreted as the title of another, independent work. Thus 'los cuales cinco libros' traditionally is taken to mean the four-book *Amadís*, plus the fifth book, *Sergas*.

Alternative interpretations of the prologue, however, are feasible. One option considers the text contained in *Amadís* and *Sergas* to form a single, whole work. From this perspective, the prologue introduces *Amadís* and *Esplandián* as characters in a single storyline. As the Bancroft MS 115 confirms, *Esplandián* figured in the early *Amadís* story (Rodríguez Moñino 24). Furthermore, as Ramos notes (505), 'los cuales cinco libros' seems to gather their respective adventures under a single umbrella. The phrase 'son con las tales enmiendas acompañados de tales enxemplos y doctrinas', moreover, implies that the entire project (i.e., storyline, revisions and commentary) is complete. Even Cacho Blecua, who respects the division between *Amadís* and *Sergas*, acknowledges that when taken together the edited texts form 'un continuado ciclo narrativo' unto themselves (87).

The above arguments for the division or unification of the text contained in *Amadís* and *Sergas*, however, derive solely from the prologue to *Amadís*, Book I. Another plausible form, which finds consistent support throughout both *Amadís* and *Sergas*, bundles the five books into three sections. The first section consists of the prologue to Book I, which I shall refer to as *A*, and the first three books of *Amadís*. As Suárez Pallasá suggests (67), the above-cited reference to 'estos tres libros' may indicate the revised books that follow *A*, rather than an earlier version of the *Amadís* story.¹⁰ The possibility that *A* introduces Books I through III in particular is underscored by the fact that Books II and III begin without prologues.¹¹ Book IV, however, commences with another prologue, which I shall refer to as *B*. The presence of *B* marks a cut-off point between Book III and Book IV. Furthermore, *B* makes specific reference to 'el prólogo primero de los tres libros de *Amadís*' (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1302; emphasis added), thus indicating that *A* introduces the first three books of *Amadís*, instead of *Amadís*, Books I through IV. The first section thus consists of *A* (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 219–25), followed by Books I through III (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 227–1298).

Consequently, the second section consists of the text that follows *B*. Not only does *B* separate *Amadís*' Book IV from Book III, but references in *A* and *B*

summary of relevant arguments as well as setting forth his own insightful observations on the issue in the introduction to his edition of *Amadís* (19–216).

¹⁰ This reading of 'estos tres libros' does not exclude the traditional interpretation, since the three books were most likely rewritten for the published version. Indeed, at times references to 'este libro' within Book I refer to material that does not appear in the published version: 'Todo lo que más desto eneste libro primero se dize delos amores de *Amadís* y desta hermosa Reina fue acrescentado, como ya se vos dixo; y por esso, como superfluo y vano, se dexará de recontar' (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 644; emphasis added).

¹¹ The brief introductory texts at the beginning of Books II and III were most likely written as summaries rather than prologues, since they address only the section they preface and are set off from the body of the text as rubrics. These texts, like the 'sumarios' of *Celestina autos* or the *arte mayor* chapter titles in *Sergas*, may be the work of editors rather than authors.

suggest that *Amadís*, Book IV is more closely related to *Sergas* than to *Amadís*, Books I through III. Both *A* and *B* describe the text contained in Book IV of *Amadís* and *Sergas* as originating from the same, albeit fantastic, source. As *A* states:

trasladando y enmendando el libro cuarto con las Sergas de Esplandián su hijo, que hasta aquí no es en memoria de ninguno ser visto, que por gran dicha pareció en una tumba de piedra, que debaxo de la tierra en una hermita, cerca de Constantinopla fue hallada, y traído por un úngaro mercadero a estas partes de España, en letra y pargamino tan antiguo, que con mucho trabajo se pudo leer por aquellos que la lengua sabían. (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 224–5)

This conceit is echoed in *B*:

Pues luego no ternemos por estraño haver parecido en cabo de tantos años este libro que oculto y encerrado se halló en aquella muy antigua sepultura que en el prólogo primero de los tres libros de *Amadís* se recuenta; en el cual se haze mención de aquel cathólico y virtuoso príncipe Esplandián, su hijo.

(Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1302)

According to *A* and *B*, then, it is the fourth book which has been found, translated and discovered to contain the story of Esplandián. *B* goes on to praise Esplandián's inexhaustible virtues and wondrous achievements, pausing only to ask:

Pues, ¿osaremos dezir que el desseo deste Príncipe en efeto vino y assí como por la voluntad por la obra lo esperimentó? Por cierto sí, si alguna fe, tal que fengida no fuesse, se deve dar de aquello que dél en estas sus *Sergas* se scrive.

(Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1303)

B thus introduces 'este libro' (*A*'s 'el libro cuarto') as well as 'estas sus sergas' (*A*'s 'las sergas de Esplandián'). Furthermore, as in *Amadís*, Books II and III, there is no prologue to *Sergas*. The edition commences with the rubric 'Prólogo', but what follows is a brief digression *de contemptu mundi* (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 113–15). There is no reason why a moralistic discourse cannot serve as a prologue; indeed, *A* promises 'enxemplos y doctrinas' (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 225), while *B* revives the memory of the 'cathólico y virtuoso' Esplandián 'porque sea exemplo' (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1304). Yet unlike *A* and *B*, the opening text of *Sergas* makes no mention of books, storylines or characters. It is likely that the text published as *Sergas*' 'Prólogo' represents one of the many *doctrinas* promised in *A* and dispersed throughout the work, rather than a preface to the text starting with chapter 1 of *Sergas*.¹²

It seems clear, then, that *B* prefaces the *libro cuarto* as well as the *sergas*, that is, the books that represent Montalvo's most substantial contribution to the

¹² See, by way of example, in Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís*: 240, 359–61, 540–4, 565, 612–4, 641–3, 644, 655, 544–5, 793–4, 885–6, 889–90, 895–6, 1055, 1114, 1178, 1312, 1330–1, 1477, 1692–4, and 1717–18; and in Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas*: 345–7, 404, 565–7, 695–6, and 735–7.

Amadís narrative. Moreover, as Suárez Pallasá suggests (67), A's reference to 'el libro cuarto con las Sergas de Esplandián' can be interpreted to mean 'the fourth book containing the Sergas of Esplandián'. This interpretation understands the word *sergas* to mean the Esplandián narrative, which according to both A and B originates in *Amadís*, Book IV. The exact point at which the Esplandián narrative diverges from the Amadís narrative, however, is difficult to determine. Since the text consistently refers to the Esplandián narrative as 'ramo', internal references suggest a beginning somewhere between the last occasion of 'aquel ramo' in chapter 123, the last chapter of *Amadís*, Book IV (Rodríguez de Montalvo 1609), and the first reference to 'este ramo' in *Sergas*, chapter 3 (Rodríguez de Montalvo 130). Yet the Esplandián narrative is re-introduced in *Sergas*, chapter 18:

Pues assí como oís fueron escritas estas *Sergas*, llamadas *de Esplandián*, que quieren dezir 'las proezas de Esplandián', que destos cuatro libros de Amadís salen. (Rodríguez de Montalvo 220)

This passage's appearance in *Sergas* is curious, since the reader might be expected to have some idea of the edition's title and its meaning by chapter 18. However, the passage makes sense when considered within a five-book whole, since it repeats nearly word-for-word references to the Esplandián narrative as made in previous books (see, for example, Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1171, 1177 and 1609). Furthermore, the use of 'este' to describe both 'sergas' and 'cuatro libros de Amadís' suggests that the Amadís narrative and the Esplandián narrative co-exist at this point in the text.

The end of the Amadís narrative is equally unclear. Amadís' adventures appear to conclude in chapter 49 of *Sergas*:

mas como de Amadís, su padre, tantas y tales se ayan contado en esta grande historia donde este ramo o parte de su hijo sale, con tantos sospiros y tanta abundancia de lágrimas, si agora de nuevo lo deste leal enamorado escrevir quisiésemos, no deleite, antes gran fastidio a los leyentes atraería. Assí que dexando las más dellas en olvido, como cosa ya superflua y demasiada, irá procediendo la historia en hazeros saber cómo los grandes fechos en armas deste cavallero passaron. (Rodríguez de Montalvo 342–3)

However, just as the Esplandián narrative is re-introduced in chapter 18, the Amadís narrative re-concludes in *Sergas*, chapter 68:

Mas porque ya las cosas del rey Amadís a este nuestro cuento no convienen, como pasadas y recontadas ante destos, desde agora se dexarán por fazeros saber aquellas de aquel que con más esfuerço y con más fe, por otra más diversa y cathólica vía, las procuró y passó assí a la honra deste mundo como a la salvación de su ánima. (Rodríguez de Montalvo 410)

The Esplandián narrative begins between chapter 123 of *Amadís*, Book IV and chapter 3 of *Sergas*, while the Amadís narrative ends somewhere between

chapters 49 and 68 of *Sergas*. The adventures of Esplandián and Amadís intertwine, just as the adventures of Amadís, Galaor and Florestán intertwine earlier in the story. These co-existent, intertwined narratives reflect the technique of 'interlace' as identified by Vinaver in his studies of medieval chivalric romance.¹³ Books IV and V, therefore, are best considered as sections throughout which the Amadís and Esplandián narratives interlace, rather than parts dedicated exclusively to one character or the other.

A particularly curious passage regarding the relationship of the Amadís and Esplandián narratives to Books IV and V occurs between chapters 98 and 100 of *Sergas*. Chapter 98 seems to indicate the end of the story altogether:

Siendo ya mi ánimo y péndola cansados, y el juicio en gran flaqueza puesto, considerando el poco fruto que su trabajo alcançar puede en esta simple y mal ordenada obra por ellos emendada, temiendo que el yerro mayor no fuesse de le poner fin, aviendo juntado dos tan leales amadores como la historia vos mostró, remitiéndola a aquellos que no solamente con sus sotiles y agudos ingenios podrían estos mis simples desvaríos emmendar y corregir, mas aun siendo más dignos, con mucha mayor gracia y discreción proseguir en lo de adelante, si por ventura considerassen que sobre tan flaco cimiento como este alguna hermosa y perdurable obra levantarse podría. (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 525)

In chapter 99, however, the narrator takes up the tale once more. He describes his fictional encounter with the character Urganda la Desconocida, who appears to him in a dream. Therein, she shows him the work of Helisabad, the imaginary chronicler of Esplandián:

E porque aún tú no has visto ni podido alcançar el fin dello, sino solamente fasta que este Esplandián vido a su señora y se partió della en la fusta por la mar, assí como lo fallaron en la tumba de piedra en Costantinopla, por donde fue manifiesto, quiero agora, revocando el mandamiento tan premioso que te fize en que no procediesses más adelante en esta obra, que veas por este libro aquello que adelante sucede y de aquí lo llesves en memoria, para que poniéndolo por escrito sea divulgado por las gentes.

(Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 548–9)

According to chapter 99 of *Sergas*, therefore, the fourth book as described in *A* and *B* was discovered in an incomplete state. The book of Helisabad, which

¹³ For the term 'interlace', see Vinaver (*Form and Meaning* and *The Rise of Romance*, especially 68–99). Vinaver's primary object of study are the thirteenth-century texts which make up the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian romances, but his observations are clearly applicable to *Amadís* and *Sergas* as well: 'Possibly the decisive step towards a proper understanding of cyclic romance is the realization that since it is always possible, and often even necessary, for several themes to be pursued simultaneously, they have to alternate like threads in a woven fabric, one theme interrupting another and again another, yet all remaining constantly present in the author's and the reader's mind' (*The Rise of Romance* 76).

Urganda calls ‘este libro’, contains the rest of the story, beginning with chapter 100 until the conclusion of *Sergas*, eighty-four chapters later.

The division is so complete that at least one seventeenth-century reader mistook chapters 100 through 184 as the sequel to *Sergas*, marking its margin as ‘el 6 libro’ (Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 122n50). Modern scholars such as Place and Ramos also consider chapters 100 through 184 to form an entirely different book (Place, ‘Montalvo’s Outrageous Recantation’ 193; and Ramos 505).¹⁴ A more likely option considers the concluding remarks of *Sergas*, chapter 98 to signify the formal end of Book IV, in such a way that the second section consists of *B* (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1301–5), followed by Book IV (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís*, Book IV through *Sergas*, chapter 98). Chapter 99, in turn, serves as Book V’s prologue, which I shall refer to as *C*. The existence of *C* in no way contradicts the purpose of *B*, since *B* purports to introduce a Book IV containing the conclusion of the Amadís narrative and the emergence of the Esplandián narrative, while *C* introduces Book V, containing the climax and conclusion of the Esplandián narrative. The conversation recorded in *Sergas*, chapter 99, between the first-person narrator and the character of Urganda regarding the lost book of Helisabad takes place entirely in the realm of fiction, it is true, but the fiction first germinates in *A*’s reference to lost texts in ancient tombs and remains consistent with *B*’s imaginary discovery of the book containing the Esplandián narrative, in such a way that the content of *C* echoes that of *A* and *B*. Moreover, the beginning of *C* recalls the conclusion of Book IV signaled in *Sergas*, chapter 98: ‘Ya vos conté en el cabo desta obra cómo yo fui llamado en estraña forma por aquella gran sabidora Urganda la Desconocida’ (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 533, emphasis added). The anticipation of Book V, meanwhile, is indicated at the end of *C*: ‘E tomando el camino me torné para mi casa, a la cual llegado, apartado de todos, tomando tinta y papel comencé a escrevir aquello que en la memoria traía, como agora oiréis’ (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 550). Given its placement, content and structure, chapter 99 of *Sergas* may best be considered *C*, the prologue to Book V. Book V itself spans chapters 100 to 183. Chapter 100 begins with the adventures of Esplandián after he sets out to sea in *Sergas*, chapter 97, and continues to *Sergas*, chapter 183, in which Esplandián, now Emperor, and all his court fall under a spell of enchantment not to be rescinded until the return of King Arthur (Rodríguez de Montalvo 821). *Sergas*, chapter 184, meanwhile, is not part of the story proper. It begins by identifying the characters’ descendants in short order:

Agora sabed que este emperador Esplandián dexó un fijo que hovo en su amada muger, emperatriz de Costantinopla, que por el gran amor que a su abuelo tuvo le puso nombre Lisuarte; este quedó en edad de ocho años. Del rey Amadís quedaron un hijo y una hija, al cual llamaron Perión, y a la hija

¹⁴ Indeed, Place believes that at least one early-modern edition, now lost, may have presented the four books of *Amadís* plus a ‘short form’, that is, chapters 1 through 99, of *Sergas* (‘Montalvo’s Outrageous Recantation’ 194). However, the absolute consistency of the extant editions and their translations in publishing a four-book *Amadís* and a single-book *Sergas* makes this hypothesis difficult to sustain.

Brisena, que fue casada con el hijo mayor de Roma, Arquisil. El rey de Sobradisa, don Galaor, hovo en la ferosa reina Briolanja dos hijos, llamados el uno Perión y el otro Garínter. (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 822)

The chapter goes on to summarize the story of Talanque and Calafia, and concludes with a promise of their adventures in a more lengthy sequel: ‘assí como por el dicho libro se mostrará cuando paresciere’ (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas* 823–5). The chapter’s content: a family tree, a summary of the adventures of Esplandián’s descendants and the promise of a sequel, points to its function as an epilogue that brings the work to a close. Thus the third and final section consists of C (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas*, chapter 99), followed by Book V (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas*, chapters 100–83), and an epilogue (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Sergas*, chapter 184).

We are now able to outline the structure of the *Amadís* text as it may have existed just prior to its sixteenth-century edition. I have adapted a hypothetical title from A (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 224):

Los libros de Amadís de Gaula con las sergas de Esplandián su hijo

Original version: Edited version:

Prologue A (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 219–25)

Books I–III ‘Comiença la obra’ to chapter 81 (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 227–1298)

Prologue B (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1301–5)

Book IV Chapters 82 to 133 (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 1305–765) and *Sergas*, ‘Prólogo’ to chapter 98 (Rodríguez de Montalvo 113–525)

Prologue C *Sergas*, chapter 99 (Rodríguez de Montalvo 533–50)

Book V *Sergas*, chapter 100–83 (Rodríguez de Montalvo 551–821)

Epilogue *Sergas*, chapter 184 (Rodríguez de Montalvo 822–6)

The edited form of the text cleaves Book IV in half, tacking its prologue and first fifty-odd chapters to the end of Book III. This leaves *Amadís* as a volume with two prologues, A and B, and three and a half parts, Book I through Book IV, chapter 133. *Sergas*, meanwhile, begins in the middle of Book IV, is interrupted halfway through by a prologue, C, and followed by one part, Book V, and an epilogue.

The disjointed relationship between the structure of the textual material and its form as conserved in print may be explained by editorial interference. The current division between *Amadís* and *Sergas* and the text they contain is based primarily on the placement of rubrics, chapter titles and volume format, markers which, as we have seen, perhaps correspond to the activities of editors. A five-book volume may simply have been too costly to produce during the *años negros* of the Spanish printing industry. Another possibility is that an early editor perceived the work to be, in the words of the narrator, ‘simple y mal ordenada’ (Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís* 225, *Sergas* 525). In this scenario, he may have wanted Book V to include the entire Esplandián narrative, and thus split the original Book IV into halves between the last reference to ‘aquel ramo’ and the first to ‘este ramo’, just before a good digression on Christian virtue. This first half

he joined to Books I through III as Book IV, and published the text under the title *Los quatro libros [. . .] complidos*. He then placed the rubric 'Prólogo' above the digression, placed chapter rubrics before prologue C and the epilogue, and published the remainder of Book IV through Book V, chapter 184 as a new Book V entitled *Las sergas de Esplandián*. The editorial decision to divide works differently is not unique in early printing. Mid- and late-sixteenth-century editions of *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros* and *Espejo de caballerías* present disparate sections in single volumes (Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 78–81); furthermore, mid-sixteenth-century editions of *Felixmagno* and *Florambel de Lucea* divide formerly unified sections into independent volumes, just like editions of the split-off *Sergas* (Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 77–8). Lucía Megías summarizes the dynamic at work behind these types of publication:

El problema aparece cuando las prácticas editoriales de la época deben conjugarse con las unidades textuales de los diferentes libros de caballerías que se imprimieron a lo largo de la centuria, ya que, como hemos indicado, género editorial y género literario deben analizarse unidos para comprenderlos en toda su complejidad. (*Imprenta* 81)

Unless and until other manuscript or printed versions of *Amadís* and *Sergas* come to light, the specific activities of their editors remain in the realm of hypothesis. However it is possible that the text's formal structure was altered in the course of publication. This altered work was then diffused in Castile and abroad in the form of the texts we know today as *Amadís* and *Sergas*.

In conclusion, the publication of fifteenth-century Spanish literature allowed the sixteenth-century Castilian printing industry to survive its darkest crisis. In recovering older literature, the printers were obliged to select and edit texts according to the tastes of the public. As a result, older works were recovered and new editorial genres were born, but all suffered varying degrees of editorial interference. In some cases, this interference was blatant, adding and/or eliminating entire sections of original material. Even when editors limited their activities to formatting, however, they altered the material's reception. Their designation and rubrication of chapters, for example, endowed texts with titles and characters with names. In the case of *Amadís* and *Sergas*, what once might have existed as a three-section work replete with prologues and an epilogue was perhaps split into two disjointed volumes, a form conserved throughout subsequent publications in Castile and abroad. The fact that *Amadís* and *Sergas* are still read, studied and edited in this format indicates that editorial interference dating from the sixteenth century continues to affect the way the works are received today.

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Part 4: LINGUISTIC CONTACT AND CHANGE

Perils of Speaking of *Orígenes de la lengua*

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Introduction

For some, one of the most fascinating aspects of Medieval Iberia is the use of language. Who spoke what, with whom, and where? What were the languages of Iberia really like at any given time? What was it that brought about what seems to have been – from our viewpoint many centuries later – a rather sudden explosion of writing for the first time in the vernacular? Were there precipitous linguistic developments at the time that might have triggered such a shift? Were the incipience and surge in vernacular writing rooted in social change?

These and many other questions like them are the turf of a wide variety of scholars, most centrally those who would describe themselves as philologists or historical linguists. Students can be fascinated by these questions as well, and scholars less engaged in problems of language history than in medieval literature or history in general can profit from gaining as clear an understanding as possible of questions revolving around language.

This brief essay stems from several years of experience in teaching a mostly undergraduate course in the evolution of Romance languages. Any student with good preparation in reading, writing, speaking and understanding at least one Romance language is welcome. With regard to language background, the heap of the bell curve of the class is typically formed of anglophone students with good non-native fluency in Spanish, and at least basic knowledge of one or more of French, Italian or Portuguese. Most students are engaged, and genuinely enjoy discovering more about how and why these languages are both so much alike and so different.

While most come to the course with interest and good language preparation, they also come with little or no knowledge of principles of language change. More than a few in each class are in possession of a good deal of myth about language in general and language change in particular that hampers their understanding and appreciation of Latin's evolution to what we now call Romance languages and dialects. One of the most frustrating obstacles for students and instructor alike is a tightly-wound assemblage of misconceptions centered on the concept 'origins' of Romance languages. These few pages are an attempt to identify possible sources of these misconceptions and to suggest a means for avoiding them.

The words ↔ images we use

The cause of students' misunderstanding may be in our own way of speaking – 'loose' talk; easy shorthand not intended at all to deceive, but that, without the scholar's knowledge to guide conceptualization, can do just that. In a brilliant paper delivered some years ago at the Georgetown Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics, Joseph reminded us that 'discourse regarding the abstract and intangible is regularly parasitic upon discourse about the concrete and tangible' (Joseph 147). This is true in general (e.g., 'That math problem is hard'), and it is also true of a great part of our discussion about language: we speak of final consonants being 'lost' or 'deleted'; we describe a compound such as *bookcase* as being semantically 'transparent' in its combination of morphemes, while the pronunciation of ['k^hʌbɔrd] renders another compound totally opaque until, perhaps, we see it spelled out as *cupboard*.

Metaphor, in the widest sense, is so common in speech of all sorts, very much including scholarly discussion, that it often goes unnoticed. There may be dangers lurking, however, as it can condition our perceptions and thus to some extent determine our thinking. And even if the scholar remains aware that the metaphors are often no more than convenient conceptual fictions, students are wont to take them as literal rather than (weakly) analogical constructs.

Linguists are no more exempt from this than anyone else, and Andersen has pointed out the conceptual damage that can result from falling into 'manners of speaking which involve metaphors that are deeply alien to the nature of language' (2). The present paper concentrates on the 'life' metaphor of language, a realm of conceptualization that, once entered into, can lead to vast misunderstanding of linguistic and sociolinguistic reality.

Language birth, life, death

The metaphors of language life and death seem apt enough to cause little misunderstanding, perhaps even real enough not to qualify as metaphor at all. Spanish is certainly thriving and vigorous. Hundreds of millions of people have some variety of Spanish as their first language, have the native speaker's fully productive grammar at their command and use the language daily. At present in North America, Spanish is in expansion in numbers of users – not just in the geographic shift of the headcount of ongoing immigration of native speakers, but also in terms of use by those whose first language is English. If it is metaphor to label Spanish a living language, it seems not to be a misleading one.

In a very real sense, too, languages can die. If we define a living language as one with native speakers, it is not difficult to begin to list some that are dead, from well-known ancient examples such as Hittite to modern losses throughout the world. Within what is now Romance Europe, the Etruscan of Etruria, the Celtic speech of Spain, these and many other tongues died along with their last native speakers. We even have a documented modern case of death of a Romance language: Antonio Udina, the last speaker of Dalmatian (what Italians call

dalmatico), passed away in 1898, and along with him, the language (Tagliavini 375). The death of at least that variety of Dalmatian is quite real. No speaker – native or otherwise – remains. No one can make accurate judgments regarding the grammaticality of a syntactically complex utterance; phonological details are lost; semantic nuances cannot be perceived with confidence. Yet the metaphor of real-world death in general must carry a caveat. ‘Death’ in the case of language is not necessarily absolute: a rare occurrence, but a language without native speakers can be revived to become the native language of subsequent generations (Hebrew comes to mind). The metaphor of language death needs some fine tuning with further metaphor (e.g., resuscitation), or, perhaps better, we must keep in mind that while language death may be a useful shorthand description, parallels to death of physical organisms have their limits.

If the concept of living language seems apt, and the concept of a language dying is imperfect but useful, what can we make of the third aspect of comparing language to living organisms, that of birth? Here we run into trouble. The concept of a language being born, or, more vaguely, of having a moment or period of origin, is very much one of those ‘manners of speaking which involve metaphors that are deeply alien to the nature of language’ (Andersen 2).

Origins

The term ‘origins’ permeates the field of historical Romance Linguistics, from the writings of the most highly informed scholars to the most dilettante of internet sites. Menéndez Pidal’s most lasting work is his monumental *Orígenes del español*. Tagliavini’s *tour de force* summarizing the origins and development of both Romance Philology and the languages themselves bears the title *Le origini delle lingue latine*. Bonfante labeled his more recent volume on the circumstances of Latin’s evolution into what we now think of as Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, etc., *The Origin of the Romance Languages*. These titles may be unfortunate, for perhaps without realizing it, the giants of the field grant license to those far less knowledgeable of language history, as any search of internet pages for ‘orígenes’, ‘origini’, ‘origines’ plus language name will show.

Even in the hands of experts, the term can be somewhat misleading in the absence of a careful reading of intentions and the background knowledge of presuppositions common to the scholarly world. Given the title *Orígenes del español*, and the subtitle *Estado lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI*, the non-expert can hardly be blamed for assuming that actual origins of the language – a springing forth, a sort of birth – will be treated in Menéndez Pidal’s book. Careful reading reveals that he did not intend for *orígenes* to be taken literally, that he was not setting out to trace the actual linguistic origins of Castilian as part of the continuum in the development of Latin, but rather to examine the more circumscribed topic of the earliest uses of the language in written texts.

no trataré [. . .] los orígenes remotos de la lengua española, sino los orígenes próximos, haciendo que lo que antes era una especie de prehistoria del español,

entre, mediante la aportación de documentos nuevos, dentro de la historia propiamente dicha. (Menéndez Pidal vii)

In fact, the very next paragraph begins by speaking of '[e]l estudio del español como lengua documentada por escrito' (vii), and with that, we have a good idea of where his book will take us and some indication of where it will not go.

Tagliavini's purpose is similar. His title refers to *origini delle lingue neolatine*, but his task is concentrated less on tracing the linguistic evolution of Latin into Romance than it is on elucidating the triumph of Romance varieties as vehicles of written expression and of formal discourse.

La filologia romanza è [...] una disciplina di carattere prevalentemente medioevalistico: il sorgere e l'affermarsi dell'individualità delle lingue neolatine avvenne infatti in pieno Medioevo. (350)

Even here, though, there is room for misunderstanding of the actual developments of the languages *per se* as normal everyday codes of communication, contained in the specification that the *individualità* of the Romance varieties arises in the Middle Ages. Tagliavini does not specify what he means by *pieno Medioevo*, but if we assume that to be around the millennium, we find that the vast majority of the developments that today distinguish one Romance speech type from another had already taken place (on which more below). Tagliavini knows this full well and says so quite clearly in the same paragraph.

Ma per quanto noi possiamo individuare con sufficiente esattezza le più antiche attestazioni di ciascuna delle varietà romanze [...], ci dobbiamo limitare, per necessità, ad esaminare i monumenti scritti, i quali, proprio per persistere della tradizione culturale latina in Occidente, sono certo posteriori alla formazione delle stesse varietà neolatine come lingue familiari e parlate. La ricostruzione dell'aspetto parlato (considerevolmente diverso dallo scritto) delle singole lingue neolatine nel periodo delle origini non è talvolta possibile neppure coll'aiuto del metodo storico-comparativo. (350)

In linguistic terms, then, we cannot speak even metaphorically of Romance languages having their origins *in pieno Medioevo*. By then the Romance varieties were well formed. In Tagliavini's view, the reconstruction of actual speech is not possible. What we can study are those features that are revealed – or suggested – by the contents of extant texts.

Bonfante's book, too, is entitled *Origins*, but the subtitle reveals his perspective overtly: *Stages in the Development of Latin*. This is evident, too, before even opening the volume, on the back cover.

When did Romance languages come into being? This is the central problem of Romance linguistics, the one upon which the solution of all others essentially depends. Are they, as it were, the products of the decadence, one is tempted to say, the decomposition, of Latin in the course of the Imperial or the Christian

Period? Or did they arise as early as the colonial days of the lands which became Roman, first politically and subsequently also linguistically?

Many scholars might quibble with the statement that establishing when Romance speech came to be recognizable as something other than the classical model of Latin is *the* central problem of Romance linguistics. This is a minor quibble in the present context, however, for understanding the time factor is a question of singular importance in the historical view. And it is precisely in this arena that perhaps the most far-reaching work in Romance historical linguistics of the past two decades and more has been situated: Wright's suggestion that after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (very approximately) and before the Carolingian reforms, what appears to be written in Latin is actually Romance in antiquated orthography. In his words, '“Latin”, as we have known it for the last thousand years, is an invention of the Carolingian Renaissance' (Wright ix). In, say, the seventh century AD, French [vjɛrdʒə] or [virdʒə] would have been spelled VIRGEN, VIRGINEM or VIRGINI, 'in the same way as Modern French [ʃɑ̃:t] can be spelt *chante*, *chantes* or *chantent*' (Wright x–xi).

At least one of his central linguistic tenets is almost certainly correct: there is no reason to assume perfect phoneme-to-grapheme mapping ('one sound, one letter') in an orthographic system that has remained essentially the same for centuries, while, as we know, language in daily use changes. English speakers know this. Notwithstanding written <gh>, there is now no consonant immediately preceding /t/ in <daughter> or <night>; neither <knight> nor <knife> begins with [k]; the vowels of <boot> and <book> have diverged for most speakers, while <roof>, at least in North America, wobbles on, not sure whether to side with the vowel of *boot* or of *book*. There is no shortage of similar examples of orthographic fossils in Modern French, where both <poids> and <pois> are [pwa], and dictionaries report that the month of August, although spelled <août>, is actually [u].

The consequences for the metaphor of origins

The point here is that Wright's thesis is possible only within a perspective capable of recognizing that the Romance languages do not – and cannot – have origins in the sense of a discrete break from the so-called mother tongue, Latin. Natural language simply does not work that way.

In the real world of Western Europe, which is the focus here, children are born to families that are part of communities, and the children acquire the community language. Although it is easy to conceptualize discrete generations, the fact is that lives overlap: the extended family can be a mix of any age from infant to grandparents and great-aunts and -uncles, perhaps even great-grandparents, and any and all of these can be input to the child's language acquisition. Barring catastrophic events, there is no break in this community sharing of language, no opportunity for abrupt major linguistic change. The child communicates naturally with parents and

grandparents, who in turn communicated naturally with their parents and grandparents. Again, barring catastrophic social events that disrupt the community, or sudden language shift within the community, the oldest speakers at any point will report that they spoke with the oldest generation alive during their youth in essentially the same language. In principle the time spanned could be close to two centuries.

What really happened is that Latin, a language which, like any other, was an amalgam of sociolects, came to vary not just diastatically (along social parameters), but diatopically (in geographic space) and diachronically (through time) as well.

Of course, [. . .] even when Roman power was at its height there was not one single homogenous form of Latin used by all speakers throughout the Empire; social and regional variation [. . .] would have been apparent at all times. [. . .] one must envisage a situation in which this ever-present variation within Latin was accentuated as the language developed in ever more divergent ways in different localities. (Harris 2–3)

In addition, both reports of the time and everything we know of language variation and change suggest that the natural development of Latin into what would eventually become discrete varieties began much earlier than is usually envisioned.

L'espansione del Latino [. . .], la sua sovrapposizione alle diverse lingue dei popoli assoggettati, dovevano aver creato, già nel quinto secolo della nostra era, quando l'Impero Romano d'Occidente cedette alla pressione dei barbari, non poche considerevoli differenze regionali. (Tagliavini 349)

Students new to historical Romance linguistics do not find this difficult to understand, and they soon realize the paradox. Latin, as presented in grammar books and found in ancient texts, is a dead language. No one speaks Latin natively today, and even Romans must apply themselves assiduously if they are to achieve as much as a minimal reading knowledge of the language. And yet, students see immediately that it makes no sense in any real-world understanding of linguistic communities to claim that Latin died or that Romance languages and dialects were ever born. When asked if they would expect to find notable changes in language in any ten-year jump backwards in a time machine set in the middle of Rome, no student answers yes, no matter how innocent of linguists' principles of language change. From the boot-heel of Italy to Belgium to the Algarve, the language spoken must be the uninterrupted continuation of one form or another of the Latin that began to emanate from Rome as Romans set out to explore and conquer the world around them.

Students normally must be taken through this exercise to come to their own conclusion, however, for by the time they reach a course in Romance Linguistics, most have been exposed to a full indoctrination of myth and misplaced metaphor. The concept of origins conspires with another to mislead students: early texts.

Early texts

In Romance language terminology, it is common to refer to ‘first texts’ written in the vernacular: *primeros textos*, *primi testi*, etc. In English this often comes out as *early texts*. These might seem innocent enough labels, and appropriate as well. If a given text is datable, and its composition precedes all other datable texts in time, that text is the first we have. Nothing could be simpler. And all evidence available suggests that such texts were, indeed, among the first attempts to represent the vernacular in writing. The catch is that the perceptual-conceptual implications inherent to the label ‘first’ or ‘early’ can distort linguistic reality.

As Tagliavini pointed out, and as Menéndez Pidal more than hinted, the languages themselves were – by definition – in vigorous use at the time of the first attempts to write them. The concept ‘early’ cannot refer to linguistic development. One need not be steeped in principles of diachronic linguistics or know the fine details of Latin or Romance grammar to recognize this. Undergraduate students with a smattering of Romance language knowledge can identify immediately the geolinguistic origin of the following very brief excerpts of texts.

Sao cco kelle terre per kelle fini que tebe monstri (963 AD)
 Albertel, trai[te?] Falite dereto colo palo, Carvoncelle (before 1084 AD)
 Nodicia de kesos (980 AD)
 Eu Eluira Sanchez offeyro o meu corpo (1193 AD)

Those who guess, as many do, that the first two are from Italy, the third from Spain and the fourth from Portugal, are correct. The lesson of that simple exercise alone is clear. These are not representations of languages whose speakers are struggling to find their way linguistically. Although the three types are continuations of varieties of the same language and thus share many features – and were quite likely mutually comprehensible at the time – each has developed its own features as well, some of which are still easily recognizable today. Moreover, further examination of the texts in question reveals no indication that the speech that is indirectly represented in writing is in any way primitive or emergent. We glimpse the morphological and syntactic complexities, and lexical richness, of languages that are well formed and fully formed, languages of living speech communities whose members must find them quite adequate for all their daily needs. It is a banal truism that we can never say with certainty that we have the first text written in any particular vernacular, and the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from comparison of texts from different areas is that, with regard to evolution from the common ancestor, these ‘early’ texts are actually quite late.

Sorting out the misunderstanding

Students conceptualize quite easily a continuous development from Latin to Romance. Once it is presented to them, the concept of traveling back in ten-year leaps in a time machine in the center of Rome and finding no notable linguistic

differences between any two single stops is easy to grasp. They have no trouble whatsoever understanding this succinct description by Hall:

The Romance languages are a group of related languages which have developed out of Popular Latin speech. From being the language of a small area perhaps twenty-five miles in radius around Rome and the Alban Hills, Latin came to be used throughout the Mediterranean basin and surrounding regions, under the late Roman Republic and the Empire. In the past two millennia [. . .] the Romance languages have become markedly (though for the most part gradually) differentiated, and have spread to all parts of the world. (21)

If this is clear to students, where do things go wrong? Why do some seem so eager to ignore this common-sense view of language development and put faith instead in the counter-intuitive birth metaphor? The causes are no doubt complex, but perhaps two major factors can be identified.

Graphocentricity and topsy-turvy conceptualization

Anyone who has taught an introductory course in linguistics knows that a major hindrance that must be removed before proceeding to examine the nature of language is the belief that written representation is primary. Students see easily enough in a common-sense way that speech is chronologically primary in human history – that writing systems came about to represent and record speech. They have no difficulty in conceiving of being assigned to establish a writing system for a language that presently has none, and, of course, they know from real-world experience that people speak long before they learn to write. Yet many find it hard to resist a reflex to regard written language as somehow more authentic than speech, even the source of speech, rather than the reverse.

Schooling, at all levels, and particularly in the realm of languages, is traditionally graphocentric. Schooling in one's native language is also normally heavily prescriptive. In the United States, school and university courses that are spoken of as 'English', or that now may have more trendy labels such as 'Language Arts', are normally progressions from learning to read and write, to reading and commenting on literature. The comments themselves are often written, and an essential part of the student's task is to attempt to frame the commentary in standard language at a register deemed appropriate to the topic, taking care to adopt standard spelling conventions.

The focus is traditionally similar in 'foreign' language courses. Communicative competence may often be said to be the prime goal, but in the end, student performance is usually judged principally not on ability to approximate a native speaker's linguistic production in spoken interchange, but on the ability to produce written representation of language. To be fully successful, this must follow the orthographic norm.

The norms may be taught by appeal to the topsy-turvy notion that spelling determines pronunciation: a student of Spanish is told that the word for 'war' is spelled

<guerra> because ‘the <u> preserves the hard sound of <g>’. In this view, it is quite right to accuse a student who produces <pinguino> rather than <pingüino> of writing [piŋ'gino], not [piŋ'gwino], even if s/he knows perfectly well how to pronounce the word. Although the phonology of <beber> and <bever> would be identical, the first is the infinitive ‘drink’, the second is an error. Some students shy away from French not because they disagree with the foreign policy that emanates from Paris, but because the language is ‘hard’; when quizzed about what they mean, some will mention pronunciation, such as the [y] of *une*, but most focus on spelling: pronouncing <beaux> as [bo] ‘makes no sense’. Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, are judged to be easy, because ‘they’re pronounced the way they’re spelled’. The *language* is easy if the orthographic system maps easily to phonemic structure; if it does not, the *language* is difficult. For the student, the *language* is its orthographic representation, and ‘Italian is a phonetic language’.

With this as constant input from the beginning of schooling through university, students are primed to interpret our comments about language as referring to writing. Anyone who has taught the concept of phoneme knows the difficulty of weaning students from graphemes (letters) to phonological units representing actual structure, even in the case of a glaring mismatch such as *beaux* /bo/. In a comparative perspective, students accept easily that Spanish *casa* and Italian *casa* share the same structure /kasa/; Spanish *que* and Italian *che* are not essentially identical /ke/, however, but ‘different’, whereas French *que* is ‘like Spanish, but pronounced differently’.

If our shorthand metaphors are open to interpretation as corroborating this view, students will see them as corroboration. In reference to the topic at hand, if we speak of medieval texts as representing origins, if we call the texts early, and if we even hint that the first appearance of a language in writing might signal something like origin or birth, students cannot be blamed for believing what we say.

If this graphocentricity exerts a strong force upon students, there is another factor that conspires with it to magnify misunderstanding.

External and internal history

Hall provides clarification of what may well be an obstacle to understanding as great as the fixation on writing.

The development of any language or group of languages is best treated from two points of view: the history of its use, and that of its structure. The former involves the vicissitudes of its use in the varying political and social conditions which have determined its spread, prestige, and (in some instances) decline or extinction. This is known as its ‘external’ history. Its ‘internal’ history is, by contrast, the development of its structure (sounds, forms, syntactic combinations, lexicon) over the centuries, as known to us from both earlier documentation and reconstruction. (1)

In the typical language history course, just as in Menéndez Pidal’s *Orígenes*, Tagliavini’s *Origini* and Bonfante’s *Origins*, both aspects are studied.

Understanding the spread and acceptance of Latin, its evolution and its use while evolving, the factors that led to its eventual differentiation into innumerable local speech types – each somewhat different from its neighbor, necessarily involves knowledge about and clear conceptualization of both internal and external history as put forth by Hall. In the end, this may well be the ultimate source of the misunderstandings lamented throughout this essay.

On the one hand, while we know now from the mass of work inspired by Labov that all linguistic change is subject to social determinations, it is quite possible over the broad view of centuries to construct a purely internal account of evolving linguistic structure – language itself as the sole object of study, with little attention to the lives of its speakers. On the other, we can study the linguistic output for its content alone, or even investigate the social parameters of language selection and use, without sophisticated knowledge of phonology, morphology or syntax.

There are times, however, when the two aspects meet, entangle, and one cannot be examined without consideration of the other. Internal and external history become not just inseparable, but absolutely essential components of a single purpose. Arguably, this is the case in the examination of texts written before the firm establishment of the vernacular as the normal code of writing.

In studying what was once thought to have represented *latín vulgar* – but that Wright has argued forcefully is much more likely Romance in Latinate costume – as well as in analyzing the first overt attempts to represent Romance as itself, a firm grasp of general linguistic principles and of not just local, but Romance, historical facts is necessary (see Harris-Northall for exemplification of this). At the same time, the texts are situated in an historical reality that must also be understood if we are to have access to motives for the selection of the language of the texts and of their mode of representation.

Practitioners of philology or historical linguistics, however we may label ourselves, know this, of course. Perhaps, in fact, we know it too well. We practice internal and external history simultaneously, juggling the two at once, using one to inform us of the other, conscious of the distinction, fully aware of what we mean – and of what we cannot possibly mean – when we speak metaphorically of ‘origins’ or label a text ‘early’ or say that a given document is a language’s ‘first appearance’.

Others may not have this perspective or experience, however, and the innocent’s view that conflates internal and external history is by no means confined to students. Renaissance scholar Stephen Greenblatt, a figure well known among those who follow The New Historicism, was interviewed by Brian Lamb on the CSpan television channel program *Booknotes*, November 14, 2004. Greenblatt had recently published *Will in the World: How Shakespeare became Shakespeare*. The following is a verbatim interchange that touches on our topic here.

Brian Lamb: *Did he [Shakespeare] invent the [English] language?*

Stephen Greenblatt: *He did largely invent the language. I mean, he invented it usually – he’s very cunning at telling you what the words actually mean.*

What Greenblatt means to say here, presumably, is that Shakespeare was a master of language usage, able to employ the English of his time in such a way to cleverly and entertainingly make his meanings clear, that his vocabulary was extraordinary and that he used the productive resources of English in ways that no one had before, and to delightful effect. And Greenblatt said that, but he also said more: he said that Shakespeare *did* largely invent English, which on the face of it is preposterous.

Greenblatt, it turns out, was speaking solely of lexicon – in the interview he went on to admire Shakespeare's description of the sea turning *incarnadine*, followed immediately by restatement that clarifies 'make red'. Presumably, Greenblatt is quite aware that Shakespeare did not invent the English language – not its phonology, morphology, syntax, nor the vast lexical richness of English even then.

Two points leap out to our purpose here, though. An experienced and respected academic with a string of degrees from Cambridge and Yale did not choose to answer Lamb's naive question with an immediate clarification to the effect of 'No, of course he didn't invent the language', but accepted Lamb's implication of invention and went on to inadvertently nourish the lay person's impression that what is most worth mentioning about language is its storehouse of words. And second, we have the lesson of 'loose talk'. There were, no doubt, some listeners that evening who had their own linguistically naive preconceptions confirmed by the Harvard professor's statement that Shakespeare invented English. And there may have been others who had never had such a thought, but on the word of such an authority, began to believe it.

On not duping ourselves and others with our own metaphors

Another of Joseph's observations from the article cited at the outset is that '[h]istorical linguists are as prone as anyone else to becoming the dupes of our own metaphors' (148). If we add to that loose talk, convenient fiction and shorthand labeling of complex phenomena, our professional path is strewn with traps. The scholar sets the traps, though, and as long as this is conscious, we know where they are and what they are made of. If we stay alert, we can avoid being snared by them.

Students, our colleagues in other realms of learning, and certainly the Brian Lambs of the general educated public are not charged with having the perspective of expertise peculiar to the field of historical linguistics and philology, however. The traps are not necessarily obvious to all. Younger students especially – still learning to sift wheat from chaff, and often still given more to learning notionistically rather than internalizing cogent and far-reaching understanding – may believe what they read and what they are told, the more so if the information which they encounter appears to confirm perceptions already held. If we speak of origins of Spanish, if we call old texts early, if we use terms such as 'emergent' or 'nascent' to describe the state of language of those old texts without explaining what we mean, we invite and nourish misunderstanding.

We cannot change the title of Menéndez Pidal's *Orígenes del español*, nor can we guarantee that all students will read his preface carefully enough to understand his clarifications. It is impossible to ban access to web pages that purport to describe *cómo nace una lengua*. The prescriptive graphocentricity of schooling is unlikely to make clear to students what it is, and its effects will thus persist. There is little, if anything, that we can do to change the fact that the unintended conspiracy of these and so many other phenomena brings people to our door with minds full of misconceptions about language in general and the languages we deal with specifically.

What we can do is explain our shorthand and our metaphors and those that will be found elsewhere, present principles and facts in terms that are unequivocal and clear, and that relate to the experience of our hearers and readers. As is true in so many other realms, what we know of the reality of the linguistic richness of Medieval Iberia and the efforts to take real living languages seriously and use them as they had not been used before is much more intriguing than myth or fantasy. We can make that reality accessible to others if we do as we advise students to do in their papers: say what we mean and mean what we say.

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Aspects of Official Language Usage in Castile and León: Latin and the Vernacular in the Early Thirteenth Century

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In a number of ways the sociopolitical situation of the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval period was unique in Europe, and the thirteenth century was, within that period, a time of important changes. In Castile and León, either as separate states or, after 1230, definitively united as a single kingdom, many of these changes were directly or indirectly related to the military advances of the Christian armies in the Islamic south. Though the ongoing military campaigns were by this time limited geographically to the south of the Peninsula, their effects resounded throughout the kingdom in terms of demographic shift, economic policy and commerce. And it is probably not coincidental that in the midst of this social ebullience, the cultural life of the Christian kingdoms also came to the forefront.

The political administration had to keep up with these changes in order to deal with the complexities of maintaining armies in the south, repopulating areas which had been taken militarily and providing government in reconquered territory; this in addition to all its other tasks. This administration, in Iberia just as in other areas of Western Europe, had always been carried out officially in Latin, both when it involved official communication between the king and his subjects and when one state communicated with another. It used to be taken without question that Latin was perceived at the time much in the same way as it is to modern Spanish speakers now: as a non-native, that is, foreign language; it took some training after all to develop any literate ability in Latin. But in recent years closer investigation of contemporary texts has led many to revise this view: Wright (36–48), among others, has suggested that it probably was not until the thirteenth century that Latin or neo-Latin linguistic varieties in use in the Iberian Peninsula came to be ‘named’, or recognized as being formally distinct. Before that time, Latin and the vernacular appear to have been perceived as varieties of the same language; literacy was available only by using the Latin writing system, and so the literate minority felt that that was the way their language was represented in script.

Wright may be correct in this, though it is clear that from the eleventh century onwards some speakers were beginning to create a new orthographic system to

represent their vernacular more easily and fluently. Alongside the more formal documents drawn up in what looks like Latin (though I would argue that in many cases it is more likely to be Romance disguised as Latin, as has been clearly shown for some texts by Blake, for example), we begin to see a gradation down through less formal documents in which it is easy to see a more transparent representation of the vernacular. During the thirteenth century an important and fairly rapid shift takes place, and by the end of the century almost all official documents, with the exception of those to be sent outside the kingdom, are composed in Romance.

It was almost a tenet of traditional belief that the establishment of the Romance vernacular as the official language for the administration in Castile and León was in some way the result of a policy decision made by Alfonso X. Alfonso's long reign, from 1252 to 1284, saw memorable historical events occurring in his kingdom, and it also saw a cultural development of the first magnitude in which he personally was very much involved, a fact that is reflected in Alfonso's appellation as 'el Sabio'. His interest in all spheres of contemporary learning was fundamental in the development of Castilian as a standard, and so in a sense, it was almost inevitable that the shift toward the vernacular in official documents should have been linked to this cultural activity. Thus historians in both English and Spanish have attributed the change to him. O'Callaghan, for instance, says that 'not only did he adopt Castilian as the official language of government, but also for the historical, legal, scientific and literary works composed under his direction' (271). Others go so far as to suggest that it was a deliberate political decision: in effect a promulgation of language policy. Procter, for example, maintains that the 'principal innovation in the redaction of documents introduced by Alfonso X was the adoption of Castilian as the official language' (105). Procter wrote this 70 years ago, when little was known of the activity of the Castilian chancery, and indeed her own work advanced our knowledge considerably. But even in very recent work published by prestigious historians, we find similar statements; Suárez Fernández believes that Alfonso X 'decidió que era necesario disponer de una lengua madura, por encima de los modismos que se produjeron en la quiebra del latín, y escogió para ello el "castellano recto" que se hablaba en Toledo y que era ya el modo de expresión más extendido en la Península' (29). This passage faithfully reflects the distance between historians and linguists who interpret the same circumstance: most linguists would point out that there is no such thing as a 'lengua madura' (what language is 'immature' for the purposes to which it is put?), that there is no evidence that the language used in Alfonsine sources is a Toledan variety, and indeed, if it were, such a variety was certainly not a widespread means of expression in the Peninsula at the time. In the same vein, Moxó comments that: 'Respecto a la introducción de la lengua castellana, la decisión de Alfonso X al ordenar su empleo en los documentos de la cancillería y en la elaboración de las obras que se efectúan en las escuelas regias, constituye un hecho trascendental que el monarca adoptó al comenzar su reinado' (184–5). Here again it is clear that the author is making a direct link between Alfonso's cultural contribution and a

political decision to officialize the vernacular. In fact, however, not only is there no evidence of any such political decision, but the historical sources indicate that the assumption that the officialization took place under the aegis of Alfonso is in fact incorrect: Lomax had already demonstrated that the vernacular was used in official documents before 1252. Yet it turns up in bibliographical sources old and new and is thus propagated.

The work of another Spanish historian, however, has enabled us to trace the true history of the use of the vernacular in the official documents of Castile and León. González in the 1980s published a large collection of the documents of Fernando III, the father of Alfonso X, and did so with the care of a reliable semi-paleographic transcription and noting carefully which documents were original and which were copies. This collection has, unfortunately, not been exploited by historical linguists of Spanish despite the treasure of information it contains. Nevertheless, in recent years more linguists, and particularly those who place emphasis on close analysis of documentary sources, have come to recognize the importance of the existence of vernacular official documents in the period before the reign of Alfonso X. Sánchez-Prieto Borja comments that 'la evidencia empírica de que la forja de esa tradición de escritura es anterior a Alfonso X [. . .] invalida la idea, ya de por sí poco viable metodológicamente, de la existencia de una política lingüística por parte del Rey Sabio' (285). Such a realization is not, however, widely shared: Blanco Domínguez still refers to 'la intervención del Rey Sabio al elegir el castellano como lengua oficial del reino y sentar las primeras bases de su ortografía' (413). What the evidence points to, however, is not a political decision or an implementation of language planning, but rather a gradual spread of the vernacular into official documents. It also suggests that by the twelfth and early thirteenth century official documents that appeared in Latin did so not because they were originally cast in that language, but because their original redaction in the vernacular was Latinized by specialized scribes.

The spread of the vernacular in official documents was gradual in two senses: first in the comparative number of documents produced in Latin and Romance, and second in the production of documents in which both Latin and Romance appear. The collection published by González makes it clear that the practice of mixing Latin and Romance in the same document was quite common in the royal chancery by the 1230s. Typically either the protocol or the eschatocol or both appear in Latin, while the content of the document itself is in Romance. One example, from 1231, is number 334 in the collection:

Ferrandus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, Legionis et Gallecie, omnibus hominibus hanc cartam uidentibus, salutem et gratiam. Sepades que yo do este mio portero qui esta carta mia trahe, al monesterio de Buxedo, que peindre et constringa por todos sos derechos. Et si algunos touieren tuerto al monesterio et non quisieren estar a derecho, mando que éste los peyndre fata que den fiadores que sean a derecho al fuero o el fuero los [e]cha[re]. Otrossi, mando que si algunos ouieren querella de los homines del monesterio et los touieren peyndrados et non quisieren coger fiadores a derecho, mando que este portero

les peyndre fata que coian fiadores al fuero, et faga entregar la peyndra. Et el portero peyndrando por derecho por todas estas cosas que de suso son dichas, mando que ninguno non sea osado de forçarle la peyndra, ca qui lo fiziesse aurie mi ira et pechar mie cient morabedis en coto, et al monesterio el danno duplado. E mando a los merinos por o que fueren quel esten a derecho a todo lo que les clamare. Facta carta apud Burgos, reg. exp., xv.^a die Madii, era M.^a CC.^a LX.^a nona. (González 2:383–4)¹

This linguistic structure for the document, in which the king's titles, the name and title of those addressed and a greeting appear in Latin and then the language changes, may seem a little unorthodox to us, but it was probably in use for many years in the chancery, and it gives us a clue about how these documents were actually put together. Basically, any scribe could cobble together a Latin version of the protocol and the eschatocol, most of which was formulaic, with changes only needing to be incorporated regarding the addressee and the date and place of issue (note in the above example that the scribe was not a great Latinist: even the name of the month, *Madii*, is not correct Latin). The content of the document, however, was a different matter: the content was largely not formulaic or predictable and would have needed a much more skilled clerk to create a Latin version, particularly bearing in mind that legal skills would also be needed in the composition of accurate language. What we see in these documents in mixed language is a state most documents passed through, with the non-formulaic content waiting to be Latinized by a skilled clerk; except that by the 1230s this final Latinization was simply omitted from the process.

Another aspect of this is that inspection of many of the documents composed in Latin reveals the Latinization to be no more than a varnish applied to the underlying Romance. For example, a section of document 322 (from 1231) reads:

Item, priuilegium de donatione eorum que ad vocem regiam pertinent in loca per suos terminos et diuisiones nouas et antiquas, et de donatione de cauto cum suis directuris et pertinentiis nouis et antiquis, et de donatione montis quod dicitur Aiaz, qui est in terra de Lemos, in Auatureira cum villaribus, videlicet, Villari malo et Sancto Petro et Quintanela; et de donatione hereditatis de Tauro, videlicet, de decem arençadis vinearum positis et triginta ponendis, et de una casa in Villafranca cum vineis et ortis et totis pertinentiis suis quae fuerunt de Didaco Aluitiz et de domno Facundo et de Dominico Garsie et de Vermudo Eriz et de Petro Gonçaliaz; et de donatione *rengalengui* in terra de Sor, que vocatur Sanctus Mames de Curral de *eguas*; et de una *fonsadeyra* de decem solidis in Ortigaria, in Juso uilla, in casali quod fuit Gundisalui Melendi et Petri Melendi; et de donatione de *açena* de portu qui dicitur de Turilonus, que est in Tauro; et de incautatione ipsius case de Villafranca, videlicet, quod nullus

¹ The documents and extracts quoted from González' collection are reproduced here with no changes; the modern punctuation and accentuation added inconsistently by the editor have been respected here, since they do not affect the present argument in any way.

intret in eam nisi post latronem et *alebosum*. (González 2:372; emphasis added)

Syntactically, there is more Romance than Latin here, with the use of prepositions and indefinite articles. But perhaps more interesting is the lexis: *ren-galengui* (*sic*, for *regalengui*) is an attempt to Latinize *realengo*, with its originally Germanic ending in *-engo*; *eguas* has the Romance diphthong of *yeguas* removed, but is still not Latin *EQUAS*; *fonsadeyra* shows not even a minimal attempt at Latinization, for instance, by adjusting the ending to *-ARIA*. Lexical elements that have no Latin base include *aceña*, an Arabic loanword, and *alevoso* (unsuccessfully Latinized as *alebosum*), of uncertain origin, though clearly not Latin and possibly also Arabic. Thus it is not difficult to see the text as a mediocre Latinization rather than as having originally been cast in Latin.

What this indicates is that the shift from Latin to Romance in these official documents was at least in part a purely utilitarian one: the laborious final process of casting them in stylistically careful Latin, needing as it did the time and effort of the best-trained clerks, was falling by the wayside, with the language being left in its vernacular form or with a less skilled Latin varnish applied. Such practical considerations are evident elsewhere too: documents that are to be sent outside the kingdom are still composed in very skillful and stylish Latin; examples are a letter sent by Fernando to the Genovese who wished to establish in Seville (González 3:405–7, document 823, from 1251) or a letter he sent to the king of Aragón concerning the proposed marriage of their children (González 3:339–40, document 769, from 1248). This latter example serves to demonstrate that the shift to Romance was not necessarily made for questions of comprehensibility, since the Aragonese would have had no problem understanding the Castilian vernacular. We are dealing rather with questions of protocol and prestige. So there was still an element of choice in the language used, and we should therefore expect to find that the vernacular appears earliest in documents of a fundamentally practical and internal nature. This does seem to be supported by González' collection. The chancery sometimes sanctioned private agreements in the king's name: this is the case in document 305 (from 1231), in which only the initial sentence (which is totally formulaic) and the date and place information is in Latin; even the king's sanction is expressed in Romance:

In Dei nomine et eius gratia. Connocida cosa sea a todos los que esta carta vieren como yo don Martín, abbat de Sancto Domingo de Silos, con otorgamiento del prior e del convento, fazemos composición con don Pedro Martínez de Çafes [. . .] E yo don Ferrando, por la gracia de Dios rey de Castiella e de Toledo, de León e de Gallicia, por ruego de la una e de la otra part, otorgo e confirmo esta composición que dicha es de part de suso, e roboro esta carta con mio seylo, e mando firmemiente que sea la composición bien tenida e bien curiada de la una e de la otra part, sin quebrantamiento ninguno.

Aquel que quisiere venir contra este mio otorgamiento avrá mi ira, e pechar m a mil morabetes, e quanto danno fuere fecho darlo a todo doblado a la part que danno oviere recebido.

Facta carta apud Civitatem Roderici, xvi die Februarii, era M.^a CC.^a LX.^a nona.
(González 2:349)

The first of Fernando's vernacular documents to be preserved in its original form dates from July 1223 (this is number 183), and it is an order that all cattle and goods on their way to market must cross the River Tagus by one of three specific bridges in order to pay the appropriate tolls. Once again, the formulaic beginning and ending are still in Latin, but the content is completely Romance.

Ferrandus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, omnibus hominibus regni sui hanc cartam uidentibus, salutem et gratiam. Sepades que yo fallé por pesquisa que mio auuelo mandó que nengun ganado ni otra cosa nenguna pora uender en razón de mercadura non passe Taio en puente ni en barco fuera por la puente de Toledo et de Alfariella et de Zorita. Et pues que esta pesquisa fallo yo mando que ni ganado ni otra cosa nenguna que pora uender sea, fuera conducho cada uno pora sus casas et a sos ganados et non pora uender, no passe Tajo, fuera por estos tres logares, et si los fraires lo fallassen en otra parte passando mando que lo prendan por descaminado. Otrosi fallo por pesquisa que los de Ocanna de todo lo que passaren an a dar portadgo, fuera de pan et de vino et de sal que passen pora sus casas, et pora sus ganados, et non pora uender.

Facta carta apud Collar, reg. exp., xi die Iulii, era M.^a CC.^a LX prima, anno regni mei sexto. (González 2:223)

Another type of document which makes an early appearance in Romance is the *pesquisa*, a report made by king's officials sent out to determine the circumstances surrounding a dispute, often one over territorial boundaries. Careful legal practice required that the statements made by witnesses should be reproduced as exactly as possible, and these documents therefore often include Romance inserts reporting such statements. This is the case in number 340, dated 1231:

Per presens scriptum tam presentibus quam futuris notum sit ac manifestum quod ego Ferrandus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, Legionis et Gallecie, super contentione quam venerabilis M., Burgensis episcopus, habebat cum illis de Barrio [. . .] mandavi fratri Alvaro [. . .] et Munioni Roderici de Bariolo, pesquiritori meo, quod facerent pesquisam, quam factam michi scriptam in hunc modum transmiserunt.

Connoçuda cosa sea a todos los que son et serán como esta es la carta de la pesquisa que mandó fazer el rey don Ferrando [. . .] sobre la contienda que auien entre el obispo de Burgos e los de Varrio et los de Panizares sobre prados de la Lama. Pedro Pérez de Munniella, el clérigo, et don Johan de Traslacasa, so ermano, et Pedro Dominguez, el clérigo de Muniella: estos tres iuraron et dixieron que sabien que la Lama fué siempre del rey, et tóuola siempre el prestamero del rey, et uendió a qui quiso et dió a qui quiso. (González 2:391)

Especially notable is the phrase 'factam michi scriptam in hunc modum transmiserunt' which directly introduces the section in Romance: it suggests that the

vernacular was being used to reproduce more accurately what was said. A similar expression may be found in number 466 (a copy dated 1232):

Et istud confirmarunt multi testes, quorum nomina, propter scandalum euitandum, prohibuimus scribi, sed *dicta tamen scribi mandauimus ipso ydiomate quo dixerunt*. Dos testigos caualleros otorgaron esto sobreescrito, et de mas que lo uieran heredar a aquellos caualleros [. . .], et delexaronlo a los figios quito et sin contrasta ninguna. (González 2:537; emphasis added)

Again, the phrase underlines that the witnesses' declarations are transcribed in exactly the way they were given. During the 1220s and 1230s therefore, the vernacular was appearing regularly in official documents of a purely internal nature and for very practical reasons. This has led some to suggest that the criterion of comprehensibility was primary and that the vernacular was used so that when the document was read aloud, it should be readily understood by all concerned. But the problem with this argument is that notaries and scribes had always been accustomed to reading aloud documents apparently written in Latin: surely they did this by interpreting them in the vernacular. This was as much part of their training as the written Latinization of those same texts. So comprehensibility can only have been part of the reason.

In comparison with other Western European states, even Iberian ones, Castile-León was precocious in the vernacularization of official documents emanating from the royal chancery. In order to understand why this should be the case, we need to consider the social and political background. There is one aspect of the situation in Castile-León which makes it different from that of sister states: its all-consuming involvement in the reconquest of the south. From 1220 onward, there was a rapid series of military victories involving important urban areas: Baeza fell to the Christians in 1226, Córdoba in 1236, the region of Murcia between 1243 and 1245 and the jewel in the crown, Seville, in 1248 ('mayor es et más noble Seuilla de las otras cipdades de Espanna' says its *fuero* [González 3:408, number 825, dated 1248]). Thus it was necessary, if only to hold on to the newly conquered towns, to extend the royal administration to enormous new areas, and this undoubtedly had an effect on the chancery. We need to remember that the chancery was part of the royal court, and the court (which otherwise consisted largely of the military aristocracy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy) was itinerant, following a king who spent a good part of the year fighting on the frontier. This can be seen in the corpus edited by González, in which many of the documents from 1245 and 1246 were issued during the siege of Jaén ('in exercitu apud Iahen' [González 3:296, document 732, for example]), and from 1247 and 1248 during the siege of Seville ('in exercitu prope Sibillam' [González 3:313, document 748, for example]). Part of the chancery's task was to issue legislation (often municipal legislation in the form of *fueros*), which would favor settlers and encourage repopulation, and this task was an urgent one, for reasons of defense and stimulation of the economy. The donation of land and other property to new settlers always led to disputes and legal problems, so the chancery

would have had its hands full. If its officers sought local help, there would certainly have been scribes available, but the language they had always used in official documents was Arabic, not Latin.

Hernández paints this picture of the harried chancery:

La cancellería, por definición, debía estar siempre al lado del rey. Y una parte esencial del oficio regio era visitar y controlar sucesiva y constantemente las regiones y fronteras del reino. Tres o cuatro escribanos a caballo, seguidos por otras tantas mulas cargadas de arcas llenas de papel y tinta, algunos registros y un par de formularios, esa era la cancellería del rey. Maestros, aprendices, mesas de escribir, anaqueles, archivos, glosarios, muestrarios y otros instrumentos de trabajo tenían que quedarse atrás. (135)

The essentially military and itinerant nature of the court, and inevitably the chancery, left little time for the niceties of providing the great number of documents issued with a final Latinizing process, even legislative documents of the highest importance. Another example in support of this argument is the *fuero* of Córdoba. After Córdoba was taken by his armies in 1236, Fernando is not recorded as having returned to the city until 1240. We know he remained there until the beginning of March 1241, but on the 10th of that month he is in Baeza, on the 12th in Úbeda, and at the beginning of April he is in Toledo. One version of the Córdoba *fuero* is written in Romance and is dated 3 March 1241, that is, just before Fernando left the city. Another, Latin, version is issued from Toledo and dated 8 April. Both of these versions have survived as original documents (González 3:211–14, number 670 and 219–25, number 677, in Romance and Latin respectively). Now the history and chronology of the *fueros*, often grouped into families as similar *fueros* were given to several towns, is complex and the subject of much debate. But the once common notion that the Latin version must have preceded the Romance version of a particular code can no longer be maintained in all cases, and it is clear that in the case of Córdoba, a Romance version predated the Latin one, though by only a few weeks.

Again, the issue of comprehensibility often given as justification for the use of the vernacular does not fit well with the situation: if the *fuero* had been couched in Romance and was therefore presumably comprehensible to the inhabitants, why was it necessary to subsequently produce a Latin version? The answer is that though the vernacular was being used in documents of lesser importance, Latin was still considered to be the appropriate linguistic vehicle for major legislation. But if this was the case, why wasn't the first version prepared directly in Latin?

Here the answer lies in the situation of the chancery. The court, together with the chancery, is on the point of leaving the city: there is little time to put the document through all the traditional process of Latinization. And yet there was apparently an urgent need to provide a law code to address legal and military problems; the Archbishop of Toledo, Jiménez de Rada, commented after the fall of Córdoba that 'los repobladores se abalanzaron hacia ella como quien acude a

la boda de un rey' (Linehan 95). Secondly, there are minor differences between the two versions that suggest that the clerks needed to consult their records before preparing the final version. No doubt they had to wait to get back to the archives in Toledo. Thirdly, the Latin version has a long list of signatories which is absent from the Romance version. It seems that the chancery awaited its pending return to Toledo before completing the details from its legal models; it then undertook the final processing of the document by rendering it in Latin, and in this more appropriate form the document was sanctioned.

In summary, then, it is the reign of Fernando III that marks the gradual shift from Latin to Romance in official documents. Evidence suggests that even the documents preserved in Latin from the early thirteenth century were in fact the result of Latinization of Romance originals. This stylistic Latinization, however, became less and less common as the chancery was stretched more and more by the demands of a fast-expanding administration in a nation that was constantly at war. It gradually became acceptable to omit the Latinization of ever more important documents. Given this scenario, there is no need to propose the existence of a royal language policy or any legislation regulating the use of the vernacular. The drift toward the vernacular was induced by external factors and was well under way by the time Alfonso X came to the throne of Castile-León.

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Considering Paradigmatic Factors in the Reduction of Old Spanish *sodes* > *sois*

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The loss of /-d-/ from the segment *-odes* of OSp. *sodes* has normally been included with that of the Old Spanish second person verbal suffixes *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides*. On the one hand, the inclusion of *-odes* in any analysis of the reduction of *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides* is not only logical, but also methodologically sound, whether this reduction is viewed as a case of straightforward sound change or as the result of a combination of phonological and morphological factors. The /-d-/ occurs in the same phonetic environment (i.e., intervocalically) and constitutes the first element of the second person plural verbal suffix /-des/ in all four segments. On the other hand, one could argue that the reduction of *-odes* might be better analyzed apart from that of *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides*, or that at least it be given further attention after its analysis with the other three, since it differs from these in two very important respects. First, while *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides* functioned as suffixes of entire verb classes, *-odes* belonged to only one verb form. Second, and more importantly, while the vowel immediately preceding the suffix /-des/ of *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides* was a theme vowel, indicating conjugation class and mood, e.g., /amádes/ → /am-/ (root) + /-a-/ (theme vowel) + /-des/ (suffix), the vowel immediately preceding the suffix /-des/ of *sodes* belonged to the root, i.e., /sódes/ → /só-/ (root) + /-des/ (suffix). The failure to recognize this distinctive nature of *-odes* has in fact caused philologists to overlook some paradigmatic factors that may have been involved in the reduction of *sodes* > *sois*, independent of that of the other suffixes. Indeed, the inclusion of *-odes* in the diachronic analysis of *-ades*, *-edes* and *-ides*, however logical it may first appear, has resulted in an oversimplification of the history of this verb form.

The change from *sodes* > *soes* > *sois* is well attested. The data in Rini (*Exploring* 137–44) document the form *soes* in the *Crónica de veinte reyes* (composed c.1252–1350, copied c.1300–1400), the *Sumas de la historia troyana* (composed c.1300–50, copied c.1340–1420), the *Crónica de Morea* (translated 1377 *a quo*, copied 1393), the *Libro del cauallero Çifar* (composed c.1300–61, ms P copied late fourteenth – early fifteenth century), the *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís* (composed c.1390–1410, copied 1410), the *Libro rimado de Palacio* (composed c.1378–1403, copied early fifteenth century), the *Libro de las doñas* (translated from Catalan in 1448), the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled c.1430–35, copied

c.1445–70) and the manuscript of the *Dança general de la muerte* (composed c.1392, copied c.1460–80). The form *sois* appears in the writings of the Marqués de Santillana (1410–40), the *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís*, the *Libro del cauallero Çifar*, the *Libro de las doñas*, the *Cancionero de Baena*, the *Cancionero castellano de París* (compiled 1432 *a quo* 1452 *ad quem*), the *Cancionero de Salvá* (compiled 1459 *a quo*, copied 1460 *a quo*), the *Crónica troyana* (composed in Latin in 1287, translated to Castilian in 1350, printed c.1500) and in the 1520 edition (Seville) of the augmented version of the *Dança general de la muerte* (Rini, *Exploring* 137–44). Particularly noteworthy is that all three examples of *soes* in the earlier version of the *Dança general de la muerte* (composed c.1392, copied c.1460–80) are replaced by *sois* in the 1520 edition.¹

The data from CORDE gathered for the present study reveal similar chronological patterns. The form *soes* appears forty-six times between 1376 and 1400, twenty-three times from 1400 to 1480 and six times from 1480 to 1500, after which it is no longer found. The form *sois* appears four times between 1379 and 1399, ten times from 1400 to 1435, fifty-two times from 1435 to 1456, sixty-one times in the 1460s, eighty-four times in the 1470s, 149 times in the 1480s and 535 times from 1490 to 1500. Thus the textual evidence reveals that the change *sodes* > *soes* began by the last quarter of the fourteenth century, during which time *soes* appeared much more frequently than *sois*. The reduction of *soes* to *sois* occurred only rarely toward the end of the fourteenth century, but occurred with increasing frequency throughout the fifteenth century, after which time *soes* became obsolete. The change *sodes* > *soes* > *sois* may be summarized, roughly, as follows in (1):

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|--|
| (1) | Pre-1375: | <i>sodes</i> |
| | 1375–1400: | <i>sodes</i> ~ <i>soes</i> |
| | 1400–1450: | <i>sodes</i> ~ <i>soes</i> ~ <i>sois</i> |
| | 1450–1500: | <i>soes</i> ~ <i>sois</i> |
| | 1500 onward: | <i>sois</i> |

The loss of /-d-/ from *sodes* (as well as from *-ades*, *-edes*, *-ides*) may, at first glance, appear to be simply a continuation of the lenition process, i.e., *SUTIS [sútɨs] –(voicing)→ [sódɨs] –(fricativization)→ [sóðɨs] –(loss)→ [sóes], like that which occurs in many varieties of Modern Spanish in other words that originally had /-t-/ in Latin, e.g., PACATUM [pakátum] –(voicing)→ [pagádo] –(fricativization)→ [paɣádo] –(loss)→ [paɣáo]/[paɣáu].² The difference between the loss of /-d-/ in *sodes* and *pagado*, however, is that in the former it is a complete, permanent loss, while in the latter it is not. Even in varieties of Modern Spanish in

¹ Dates of texts are taken from ADMYTE.

² The loss of /-d-/ from *-ades*, *-edes*, *-ides* and *-odes* has been viewed as a case of straightforward sound change in every historical grammar of Spanish from Menéndez Pidal's *Manual* to Penny's *History* (first edition 1991).

which the frequency of the deletion of /-d-/ is extremely high, speakers can still reinsert it, for example, in a perceived formal social setting, e.g., *pagado* → [paɣáo]/[paɣáu] → [paɣádo]. The continued existence of the allophone [ð] in these varieties of Spanish is in fact what leads to occasional hypercorrections such as [bakaládo] for *bacalao* or [bilβádo] for *Bilbao*. However, the same speakers would never, indeed could never, reinsert /-d-/ in *sois*. While the lenition process clearly led to the stage exhibiting fricativization, and perhaps even to occasional deletion in Old Spanish, some other factor must have been involved in the permanent deletion of this fricative from *sodes* [sódes] > [sóes].

In a two-part study, Dworkin was the first to consider the possibility that the loss of /-d-/ from the Old Spanish second person plural verb endings in general involved more than just sound change, suggesting that both phonological and morphological factors played a part in the reduction of these suffixes (see Dworkin, 'The Interaction' and 'The Diffusion'). After examining the relevant textual evidence, he concluded that a sound change deleting /-d-/ apparently began in the suffix *-edes* due to its higher frequency of occurrence compared to that of the other suffixes.³ This sound change, according to Dworkin, would later be propagated to the other three suffixes, and eventually to adjectives and nouns, by the morphological process of analogy.⁴ Dworkin also tentatively concluded, based on the two earliest examples of reduced *-edes* (i.e., *andarés* and *yrés* in the *Libro de buen amor*), that the sound change may have begun when *-edes* functioned as a future morpheme. However, he did not trace the analogical diffusion of this change to the other functions of *-edes* (i.e., pres. ind. of *-er* verbs and pres. subj. of *-ar* verbs), nor to the other suffixes.

In a follow-up study to Dworkin's, I have shown how this change may have diffused to the other grammatical categories that were eventually affected (Rini, *Exploring* 113–46). More textual evidence confirms that the change most likely began in the future morpheme *-edes* (> *-és*) and suggests that it soon spread to the auxiliary verb *avedes* (> *avés*), of which the future suffix *-edes* was a reduced allomorph (i.e., *andar avedes* > *andar (av)edes* > *andaredes*). For example, the manuscript of the *Dança general de la muerte* (composed c.1392), exhibits the future forms *abrés*, *podrés*, *darés*, *yrés*, as well as the analytic future construction *abés a venir* and present perfect indicative *abés leuado*. Likewise, in the poems of Hernán Pérez de Guzmán and Juan Alfonso de Baena, the only two writers of the first generation (1395–1425) of the *Cancionero general*, one finds eight occurrences of reduced *-edes* when functioning as a future, i.e., *gozarés*, *serés*, *verés*, *avréys*, *hallarés*, *podrés*, *veré(y)s* (twice), as well as one

³ This suffix functioned as a singular and plural suffix in (a) the present indicative of *-er* verbs, (b) the present subjunctive of *-ar* verbs, (c) the future indicative of all three conjugation classes, and (d) the alternative Old Spanish imperfect indicative (e.g., *faziedes*) and conditional (e.g., *fariedes*). This verbal suffix also appeared, unstressed, in the imperfect and future subjunctives. However, as is well known, unstressed *-edes* (and *-ades*) did not lose /-d-/ until the seventeenth century.

⁴ Penny adopts this view in his second edition of *History* (161–62), though no reference to Dworkin's two-part study is made.

occurrence of *avés*. Two more examples of the auxiliary *avés* appear in the early-fifteenth-century *Libro rimado de Palacio*. The textual evidence further suggests that, by the early fifteenth century, the change had begun to diffuse by analogy via the allomorphic set *avedes* ~ *avés* to *tener*, which was closely associated with *aver* on both semantic and syntactic grounds (both meaning ‘to have’ and both functioning in perfect constructions with past participles), as shown in (2):

- (2) avedes (+ p.p.): tenedes (+ p.p.)
 _____ _____
 avés (+ p.p.) : X = tenés (+ p.p.)

One finds, for example, two occurrences of *tenés* in the *Dança general de la muerte*, and one in the *Libro rimado de Palacio* that occurs as an auxiliary with a past participle (i.e., *tenés empeñada*), which clearly demonstrates the link between *aver* and *tener*. Subsequently, the change would spread from the allomorphic sets *avedes* ~ *avés*, *tenedes* ~ *tenés* to other auxiliary verbs of the second conjugation, those that appeared with infinitives, as shown in (3):

- (3) avedes : tenedes : podedes : debedes : queredes
 _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____
 avés : tenés : X = podés : X = debés : X = querés

The forms *podés*, *debés*, and *querés* (as well as *avés* and *tenés*) appear in the poems of second and third generation writers of the *Cancionero general* (to 1455), such as the Marqués de Santillana, Lope de Estúñiga, Gómez Manrique, Bachiller de la Torre, Juan de Mena, Antón de Montoro, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Barba, Conde de Paredes, Gonzalo Dávila, and Francisco Vaca (Rini, *Exploring* 125–6).

As the verbs *tener*, *poder*, *deber* and *querer* could also be used in non-auxiliary functions, the change would then diffuse, during the mid-fifteenth century, from the allomorphic sets *tenedes* ~ *tenés*, *podedes* ~ *podés*, *debedes* ~ *debés*, *queredes* ~ *querés* to all other non-auxiliary verbs ending in *-edes* (i.e., pres. ind. of *-er* verbs and pres. subj. of *-ar* verbs), as shown in (4):

- (4) queredes : hazedes : ponedes : amedes : miredes
 _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____
 querés : X = hazés : X = ponés : X = amés : X = mirés, etc.⁵

The reduction of *sodes* > *soes*, however, would not likely have been part of this chain of events, despite the fact that this verb form belonged to the second conjugation, because it did not share the suffix *-edes*. That is, the segment *-odes* was not structurally similar enough to *-edes* to allow it to be swept up in this analogical

⁵ The diffusion of this change continued, next spreading to the subjunctive of *-er* verbs, then to the indicative of *-ar* verbs, thus: *queredes* : *querés* :: *querades* : X = *queraes/queráis* :: *amedes* : X = *amaes/amáis* (as well as by *amedes* : *amés* :: *amedes* : *amaes/amáis*). The reduction of *-ides* > *-ís* was analogical to the pattern of the second conjugation *-er* ~ *-ed* ~ *-emos* ~ *-és* :: *-ir* ~ *-id* ~ *-imos* ~ X = *-ís* (replacing *-ides*).

change. More important, however, is the observation that the reduction of *sodes* > *soes* occurred, according to the textual evidence, before that of *avedes* > *avés*, *tenedes* > *tenés*, *podedes* > *podés*, *debedes* > *debés*, *queredes* > *querés*, etc., such that it could not possibly have resulted from analogy with these allomorphic sets. Thus the change from *sodes* > *soes* > *sois* occurred independently of the diffusion process and therefore must be explained in some other way.

Dworkin ('The Interaction') had first proposed that in addition to the high frequency of occurrence that would lead to the initial deletion of /-d-/, a morphological factor may have also been involved in the reduction of *-ades*, *-edes*, *-ides* and *-odes*. He suggested leveling within the same paradigm of a given verb by the form of the original second person singular. Such leveling, as depicted in (5), would have brought the original plural suffix more closely into line with that of the original singular (Dworkin, 'The Interaction' 151–2):

- (5) *tú* *fablas*
 ↓
 (leveling)
 ↓
 vos *fablades* > *fabláis/fablás*

While this is a plausible hypothesis for *-ades*, and even *-edes* (e.g., (*tú*) *comes* → (leveling) → (*vos*) *comedes* > *comés*), one cannot argue the same for (*tú*) *eres* and (*vos*) *sodes*, since these two forms look nothing alike and thus leveling would not have brought *sodes* more into line with *eres*. Moreover, leveling of *sodes* by *eres*, i.e., restructuring of *sodes* on the basis of *eres*, would never have led to *soes/sois*. Nevertheless, leveling of *sodes* by another member of the paradigm could indeed have led to *soes*.

While lenition led to fricativization, and perhaps to the very light articulation and occasional deletion of the dental fricative at the phonological level, i.e., *sodes* /sódes/ → [sódes] (~ [só^δes] ~ [sóes]), the complete deletion of /-d-/ at the morphological level was likely the result of leveling by the first person singular. The high frequency of *sodes*, originally and still a plural form, when used pragmatically as a singular would have first led to the morphological reanalysis of its /-d-/ as part of the root rather than as part of the suffix, thus bringing it into line with all other *-er* verbs which exhibited the verbal ending /-es/. That is, when functioning as a plural, *sodes* was analyzable as /só-/ + /-des/, where /-des/ marked second person plural, but as a singular, *sodes* may have come to be reanalyzed as /só-d-/ + /-es/, where /-es/ marked second person singular. Leveling from the first person singular would ensue, as shown in (6):

- (6) /só/
 ↓
 (leveling)
 ↓
 /só-d-/ + /-es/ > /só-/ + /-es/ > /sóes/

Thus /sódes/ was reanalyzed and restructured on the basis of the first person singular, such that /só-/ + /-es/ → /sóes/ ‘you (sg.) are’, like /só-/ + /-mos/ → /sómos/ ‘we are’, /só-/ + /-n/ → /són/ ‘they are’, and still at this point in Old Spanish /só-/ + /-des/ → /sódes/ ‘you (pl.) are’. The second person singular morpheme /-es/ was already accustomed to suffixation with stems ending in stressed vowels, e.g., *crees*, *lees*, *vees*, *caes*, *traes*, including those ending in /ó/, e.g., pres. subj. *loes* of *loar* ‘to praise’, such that the new variant *soes* indeed had a place in the verbal system.

The proposed leveling of /sód-es/ by /só/ explains why the majority of the earliest examples of *soes* appear as singulars. For example, of the fifteen examples of *soes* in the *Crónica de Morea* (c. 1377–93), fourteen address an individual, as do the two sole examples in the *Libro del cauallero Çifar*, the one example in the *Libro rimado de Palacio* and two of the three examples in the manuscript of the *Dança general de la muerte*. And of the sixteen occurrences of *soes* found in ADMYTE (Vol. 0), thirteen function as singular forms of address (one in the *Sumas de la historia troyana*, one in the *Cancionero de Baena*, seven in the *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís* and four in the *Cancionero de París*). If frequency alone had been responsible for the reduction of *sodes* > *soes*, one would expect it to have occurred first in the plural, where *sodes* was the only form to express ‘you (pl.) are’, whereas in the singular, the duty was shared by *eres*.

The plural *sodes* then acquired *soes* as a plural allomorph via diffusion from the singular, as depicted in (7a), resulting in the paradigm of forms of address shown in (7b) by the end of the fourteenth century:

(7a)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	PLURAL
	/sódes/ ~ /sóes/	-(diffusion)→ /sódes/ ~ X	> /sódes/ ~ /sóes/
(7b)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	tú eres	vos sodes ~ soes	
	vos sodes ~ soes		

The final change, *soes* > *sois*, has been viewed as the result of a simple phonological process, i.e., loss or reduction of hiatus, observed elsewhere in the history of Spanish, including the reduction of *-ades* > *-aes* > *-áis*. Lloyd (359), for example, writes with regard to forms such as *vayaes* and *soes*: ‘The reduction of hiatus was a continuing tendency of Spanish. Thus, the reduction of those new hiatus groups soon followed, aided undoubtedly by the frequency of use of form 5 [second person plural], especially since this form was used as a singular to show respect.’ There is little doubt that the high frequency of occurrence of *-aes* and *soes* led to a loss of hiatus, at least to some degree in each case, yielding *-áis* and *sois*. The verb form *trae*, for example, which also exhibits hiatal /áe/, occurred in Old Spanish as frequently as *soes/sois*.⁶ Consequently, due to its high

⁶ In a search of CORDE to 1500, the forms *soes/soys/sois* occur a total of 1,040 times in 237 documents while the form *trae* appears 1,311 times in 184 documents. In the entire corpus,

frequency, *trae* also suffered a loss of hiatus when functioning as either an imperative or present indicative, as the examples in (8) attest:

- (8) & faz ende figura de aqual animal quisieres. de leon o de can. o de omne et pon la al sol fata que se seque. & tray la contigo. et sepas que tod animal qu[e] sea daquela figura; te aura muy grand miedo tanto quanto la touieres contigo. (ADMYTE, Alfonso X, *Picatrix* [1256], fol. 34r)

fori[e] [sic] mucho & come poco, va cantando commo loco; commo tray poco vestido, sienpre ha fanbre & frio. (CORDE, Anonymous, *Elena y María, Disputa del clérigo y el caballero* [1280], fol. 4v)

But the loss of hiatus in *trae* was not as frequent as that in *soes*, nor was it permanent, despite the comparable frequency of the two forms.⁷ Therefore frequency of occurrence cannot be the only factor that determines to what degree a form may or may not undergo a permanent reduction of hiatus.

Although the verb *trae* and the verbal ending *-aes* exhibited the same vocalic structure, i.e., /âe/, *trae* has resisted permanent loss of hiatus because its /e/ has held morphemic status, i.e., it functioned (and functions) as the theme vowel, indicating second conjugation membership. The same is true of second person singular *traes*, which also occasionally suffered a reduction of hiatus in Old Spanish, but ultimately resisted it.⁸ The /-e-/ of /-âes/, on the other hand, was but a relic of the earlier second person plural marker /-des/, with no morphemic status. It is therefore understandable how this element would succumb permanently to this phonological process, especially since its theme vowel /â/ remained intact.⁹ In the case of /sôes/, however, the /-e-/ came to be part of the verbal ending (when this form functioned as a singular), exactly like the /-e-/ of *trae* and *traes*. Given its morphemic status, it is difficult to understand why the /-e-/ of /sôes/ was unable to resist the permanent reduction of hiatus while verb forms like *trae* and *traes* were indeed able to do so. There must, therefore, have been some other factor that was instrumental in the permanent reduction of *soes* > *sois*.

I would like to suggest here that the inability of the /-e-/ of /sôes/ to remain stable was due to another morphological factor which arose in the same paradigm. As the textual evidence from CORDE reveals, *soes*, despite its high frequency of occurrence,

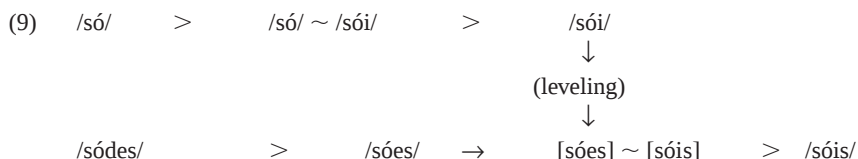
one finds *soes/soys/sois* 14,331 times in 2,547 documents vs. *trae* 13,931 times in 3,010 documents.

⁷ In a search of CORDE to 1500, the form *tray/trai* occurs only 26 times in 17 documents compared to 929 occurrences in 213 documents of *soys/sois*. In all of CORDE, *tray/trai* appears 687 times in 204 documents while *soys/sois* appears 14,218 times in 2,501 documents.

⁸ The second person singular, *traes*, occurs, of course, with much less frequency than third person singular *trae*. In the entire CORDE, *traes* occurs only 1,332 times in 670 documents vs. *trae* 13,931 times in 3,010 documents. Nevertheless, *traes* still occasionally suffered loss of hiatus in Old Spanish, as one finds *trays* nine times in eight documents.

⁹ Later, however, after the reduction of *-aes* > *-âis*, the offglide would acquire morphemic status, serving as a plural marker. See Rini, 'The Vocalic Formation'.

managed to exist, resisting the reduction of hiatus, at least to some degree, throughout much of the fifteenth century. From c.1375 to 1480 one finds sixty-nine occurrences of *soes* despite the fact that *sois* had become dominant by the middle of the fifteenth century. In fact, until 1435, *soes* was still the dominant variant, as one finds *soes* fifty-one times vs. *sois* fourteen times. It is not until 1480–1500 that *soes* really begins to disappear, where one finds its last six occurrences, as well as an enormous simultaneous increase of 684 occurrences of *sois*. This is precisely the period in which the innovative allomorph *soy* of the first person singular had become more frequent than the earlier *so*. According to the data presented in Gago-Jover (83), between 1450 and 1480, *so* still occurred more frequently than *soy* (62 per cent vs. 38 per cent). But after 1480 the trend is reversed, where one finds *soy* (71 per cent) vs. *so* (29 per cent).¹⁰ It is quite possible that during the last two decades of the fifteenth century, the form *sois*, until that point in time only a phonological variant of *soes*, became morphologized, under the influence of *soy*, the new dominant allomorph of the first person singular, through leveling, as shown in (9):



In other words, speakers would reinterpret the phonological variant *sois* [s\acute{o}is] synchronically on the basis of *soy* [s\acute{o}i] as [s\acute{o}i + s], that is, /s\acute{o}i/ ‘I am’ + /-s/ (second person morpheme) → /sois/ ‘you are’, thus resulting in its morphologization. This reinterpretation would have received support from other similar patterns, such as the imperfect indicative where, for example, /era/ ‘I was’ + /-s/ (second person morpheme) → /eras/ ‘you were’.¹¹ It may be no coincidence that both *so* and *soes* virtually vanish after 1500, or, put another way, that *sois* shed *soes* exactly when *soy* shed *so*.¹²

¹⁰ Moreover, after 1500, Gago-Jover (83) finds only four occurrences of *so* (vs. fifty-nine of *soy*), all four of which form part of the syntagm *so yo*, which may well have been realized phonetically as [s\acute{o}i-y\acute{o}]. That is, there are no more occurrences of *so* standing alone after 1500.

¹¹ This pattern applies to all verbs of the imperfect indicative, e.g., *amaba* ~ *amabas*, *tenía* ~ *tenías*, *iba* ~ *ibas*, etc., as well as to all verbs of the Old Spanish synthetic and analytic pluperfect indicative, e.g., *amara* ~ *amaras*, *avía amado* ~ *avías amado*, the imperfect subjunctive, e.g., *amasse* ~ *amases*, the future subjunctive, e.g., *amare* ~ *amares*, etc.

¹² OPTg. *sodes* also evolved to *sois*, and became morphologized without the aid of a form like *soy* in the first person singular, where Portuguese exhibits *sou*, as there were other verb forms exhibiting offglides as verbal endings, unlike Spanish, e.g., *cais*, *cai*, *vais*, *vai*, *sais*, *sai*. Thus there was less motivation to resist the loss of hiatus from *sodes* > *sois* in Portuguese than there was in Spanish. It should also be noted here that in Old Portuguese, the first person singular exhibited various forms, including *so*. Williams states: ‘Fernão de Oliveira mentions four forms of the first singular present indicative, viz., *som*, *são*, *sou* and *so*, and says he prefers the last’ (235). It is not impossible, therefore, that the variant *so* (and even *sou*) aided in the elimination of the /-d-/ of *sodes*, through leveling, as proposed here for Spanish.

It is not necessary to insist that the reinterpretation and subsequent morphologization of *sois* on the basis of *soy* occurred in the singular only, since /-s/ served as the second person morpheme for both the singular and the plural after the reduction of /-des/, e.g., /-ádes/ > /-áis/ → /-á-/ (theme vowel) + /-i-/ (emptied morpheme) + /-s/ (second person morpheme). Thus *sois* [sóis], whether functioning as a singular or a plural, could have been reinterpreted on the basis of the first person singular *soy* as /sói/ 'I am' + /-s/ (second person morpheme) → /sóis/ 'you (sg./pl.) are'. It is interesting, nonetheless, to note that many of the earliest examples of *sois* function as singulars. For example, in the *Libro del cauallero Çifar* (late fourteenth – early fifteenth century), one finds nine occurrences of *sois*, all of which address an individual. Likewise in the *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís* (late fourteenth – early fifteenth century), thirty of thirty-one occurrences of *sois* function as singulars. These data could be an indication that well before its complete morphologization by the end of the fifteenth century, the phonologically reduced variant [sóis] had begun to be associated with the singular, where the occurrence of the first person variant *soy* was on the rise.¹³

The first person singular has been responsible for such leveling in other paradigms in Old Spanish, e.g., *oyo* –(leveling)→ **oes* < (AUDIS), etc. > *oyes*, etc.; *fuyo* –(leveling)→ *foes*, etc. > *foyes*, etc. and later *fuyo* –(leveling)→ *foyes* > *fuyes* (ModSp. *huyes*), etc.; *urdo* –(leveling)→ *ordes*, etc. > *urdes*, etc.; *fablé* –(leveling)→ *fablaste*, *fablamos* > *fableste*, *fablemos*; *perdí* –(leveling)→ *perdiestes*, *perdiemos* > *perdistes*, *perdimos*; *dezía* –(leveling)→ *diziés*, etc. > *dizías*, etc., and possibly later *dezía* –(leveling)→ *dizías*, etc. > *dezías* (ModSp. *decías*), etc. (Rini, *Exploring* 35–47). Leveling by the first person singular has been observed in other languages as well, of particular interest to the case at hand, in the history of Italian, where SUM –(leveling)→ ES > *sei* (Maiden 139). Thus the first person singular appears to have been involved as a leveling force in every phase of the development of Sp. *sois*: SUM (together with SUMUS and SUNT) –(leveling)→ ESTIS > *SUTIS (> *sodes*); OSp. /só/ –(leveling)→ /sódes/ > /sóes/; and /sói/ –(leveling)→ [sóes] > /sóis/, such that the morphological similarity between the first person singular *soy* /sói/ and the second person plural *sois* /sóis/ of Modern Spanish is not merely coincidental.

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¹³ The data from Gago-Jover (83) show *soy* 25.5 per cent vs. *so* 74.5 per cent between 1400 and 1450, up from *soy* 4.5 per cent vs. *so* 95.5 per cent during the fourteenth century.

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INDEX

1898, *noventayochó* 47, 48

Abelard, Peter 110

Abraham 92

Abu Ma'shar 91–2

Adam 92

Adelard of Bath 110

Aesculapius *see* Esculapio

Afonso IV of Portugal 113

Agobard of Lyons 110

Agramont, Jacme d' *see* Jacme d'Agramont

Aguilar 32 n7, 40

al-Andalus 52, 53, 54

Albert, the Great 110

Alcalá la Real 63

Alcántara 30

Alcuin 110

Alexander of Alessandria 116

Alexander the Great 74, 125 n10, 131 n20

Alfonso, el Casto 48

Alfonso VIII of Castile 97, 98, 111 n3

Alfonso IX of León 111 n3

Alfonso X, el Sabio, of Castile xiii, xvii, 87, 88–9, 90–1, 92, 93, 94, 97–8, 111 n3, 166–7, 173

Alfonso XI of Castile 30 n3, 40, 41, 113

Alfonso de Palencia *see* Palencia, Alfonso de

Alfonsus de Portugalia *see* Dionysii,

Alfonsus

Alfonsus de Ulixbona *see* Dionysii,

Alfonsus

Algarve 158

Alicante 115

al-Jarbi, Ibrahim 65, 66

Almería 35

Alonso (Alfonso) de Cartagena *see*

Cartagena, Alonso de

Alonso de Proaza *see* Proaza, Alonso de

Alonso, Diego de *see* Valera, Diego de

Álora 62

Alps 88

Álvarez, Fernando 103 n10

Amazons 75 n11

analogy 177, 178–9

Andalusia 5, 58

Andrea da Barberino 72–3

Anglo-Saxon 51 *see also* England

Anselm, St 110

Antequera 64

Antón de Montoro *see* Montoro, Antón de

Apocalypse 19

Apparicius of Burgos 117

Aquinas, Thomas 110, 112

Arab, Arabic xi, xv, xvii, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62–3, 64–6, 73, 91, 92, 169, 172 *see also* Islam, Moor, Muslim, Saracen

Aragón, Aragonese xvi, 54, 102, 114, 115, 169

Ararat, Mount 88

Argote de Molina, Gonzalo 137

Aristotle 131 n20

Arlanza 122–3

Armagnac, Mata d' *see* Mata d'Armagnac

Armenia 88

Arnau de Vilanova *see* Vilanova, Arnau de

Arthur 144

Arthurian romance 143 n13

Ascoli, Saladino de *see* Saladino de Ascoli

Assyrian 94

astrology, astronomy xiii, 91, 92, 93, 94

Asturias xi, 47–55

Atienza 64

Augustine, St 19, 91

Augustinians 114, 115–16, 117

Aureol, Peter 116

Avicenna 104, 105

Avignon 116

Ávila 113, 114

Aviñón, Juan de *see* Juan de Aviñón

Axarquía, battle of 62

Babel, Tower of 88, 94, 95

Babylon, Babylonian 132

Bacon, Roger 110

Baeza 171, 172

Balboa, Gonzalo de 116

- Balearic Islands 115
 Band of Castile 61
 baptism xii, 70, 71, 76, 77, 78, 79
 Barbastro 54
 Barberino, Andrea da *see* Andrea da Barberino
 Barcelona 110, 114, 115
 Basque, Basque Region xv, 47, 52
 Baza 62
 Beguines 39
 Belgium 158
 Beltrán de Clequín *see* Clequín, Beltrán de
 Benedictines 72 n4
 Berceo, Gonzalo de 34, 37 n21, 41, 121–32
 Bernáldez, Andrés 62, 65
 Bernard of Angers 127
 Bernard of Clairvaux 110
 Bernard, St 19
 Bernardo de Gordonio 105
 Bible 18–19, 24, 60, 88, 91, 95 *see also*
 New Testament, Old Testament, Vulgate
 and individual books
 Bologna 111, 113, 114
 Bonaventure 110
 Britain, British 110 *see also* England,
 Scotland
 Buckingham, Thomas 116
 Burgo de Osma 34 n10
 Burgos 114, 115, 117, 168, 170
 Byzantium, Byzantine 49, 50, 51, 71, 91
 see also Constantinople

 Cabra, Conde de 6
 Caesar 92
 Calatrava 30
Cancionero de Baena 139 n9
Cancionero de Burguillos 7
 Cantabria 47, 52
 Carmona 32
 Carolingian 48, 110, 157
 Carrillo, Mencía 40
 Carrillo, Sancha 30 n1
 Cartagena, Alonso (Alfonso) de 55, 58–9,
 60, 66
 Cartagena, Teresa de x, 5, 7–9, 12, 13,
 16–28
 Castile, Castilian x, xi, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, 3,
 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12–13, 14, 30, 32, 36 n17,
 41, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58–9, 65, 66, 70,
 71, 82, 107 n16, 111 n3, 113, 114, 115,
 120, 123, 124, 136, 137, 139, 146, 155,
 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173, 176
 Catalina de Lancaster 30 n3, 32 n6,
 41 n30
 Catalonia, Catalan xv, 49, 82, 114, 115,
 117, 175
 Catholic Monarchs 6, 136 n1 *see also*
 Isabel I, la Católica and Fernando, el
 Católico
 Celtic 154
 censorship 3
 Chaldea 87, 92
 chancery, royal xvii, 166, 167, 168, 169,
 171–3
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 6
 Chirino, Alfonso 9, 101 n7, 103, 104 n12
 chivalry 57, 59, 63
 chivalric literature xii, 70–83, 136
 Christian, Christianity, Christianization
 xi–xii, xiii, xvi, xvii, 7, 12, 34 n10, 35,
 37, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60,
 62, 63–4, 65–6, 70, 71, 72, 73–83, 89, 91,
 92, 95, 123, 124, 125 n9, 145, 165, 171
 Christian, Old ix, x, 4, 6, 10–11
 Christofori, Franciscus 114
 Cistercians 116
 Ciudad Rodrigo 170
 Claudius of Turin 110
 Clequín, Beltrán de (Bertrand du Guesclin)
 32
 Coimbra 111, 114
 Collegio di Spagna 111, 113
 Cologne 72
 Colón, Hernán 138 n7
 compound word 154
 conjugation 175, 177 n3, 178, 181
 consonant loss 177, 179
 Constantinople 97, 141 *see also* Byzantium
 contact x, xv–xviii, 3
 conversion ix–x, xii, 7, 70–83
converso ix–x, xii, 3–14, 38, 39, 82
 CORDE 176, 180 n6, 181
 Córdoba 6, 30 n2, 37, 38, 78, 114, 171, 172–3
 Council of Basel 55, 58
 Councils of Toledo 50
 crusade 54, 80–1, 82–3
cuaderna vía 120–32
 Cuenca 10, 113

 Dalmatian 154–5
 David, King 18, 25, 26
 demography xv, 53, 165
 Denmark 110–11
 Devil 34, 41
 Díaz de Games, Gutierre 65
 diffusion, linguistic 177, 178–9, 180
 diglossia xv
 Dinis, Afonso *see* Dionysii, Alfonsus

- Dionysii, Alfonsus 113, 114, 116
 Dominic (Domingo), St 38 n23, 114, 127, 128
 Dominicans 40, 114–15, 116
 Duns Scotus, John 110, 116
 Durand of St Pourçain 116
- Eckhart, Meister 110
 Egypt 91, 92
 Elionor de Sicilia 102
 England, English xvi, 32 n6, 37 n22, 55,
 58, 75, 110, 111 n2, 112, 116, 139, 157,
 159, 160, 162–3, 166 *see also* Britain
 Enoch 87, 89–90, 91–2, 95
 Enrique II xi, 30 n3, 32, 33 n9, 34, 35, 37,
 41, 42
 Enrique III 30 n3
 Enrique IV xii, 6, 10, 13, 57–60, 63
 Enríquez del Castillo, Diego 58 n2
 epic 72 n6, 76, 81
 erechas 61
 Esculapio 87, 90, 94, 97
 Espina, Alonso de 34 n10
 Estephano de Sevilla 100 n5, 101
 ethnography 3
 Etruscan 154
 Évora 113, 116
 ex-voto 34–5
- Farce of Ávila 57
 Fernán González 123
 Fernández de Córdoba 6
 Fernández de Córdoba, Gonzalo 32 n7
 Fernández de Hinestrosa, Juan 39
 Fernández de Valera, Juan 10
 Fernando III 111, 127 n13, 167, 169–70,
 172–3
 Fernando de Antequera *see* Fernando of
 Aragón
 Fernando, el Católico 62, 65 *see also*
 Catholic Monarchs
 Fernando de Salamanca 114
 Fernando of Aragón (Fernando de
 Antequera) 61
 Fernandus Johannis *see* Johannis, Fernandus
 Flores, Juan de 137
Forum iudicum see *Fuero Juzgo*
 Foy, St 127
 France, French 54, 74, 75, 78, 82, 97, 105,
 110, 111, 112, 117, 153, 155, 157, 161
 Francis, St 19
 Franciscans 40 n28, 114, 115, 116, 117
 Franciscus Christofori *see* Christofori,
 Franciscus
 Franco, Francisco; *franquismo* xi, 47, 48, 49
- fricatzation 176–7, 179
Fuero Juzgo 49
fueros 171–3
- Galen 101–2, 104
 Galicia, Galician 52, 65, 169, 170
 Galician-Portuguese xv
 García de Aza, Ruy 35–7, 40
 Garini, Pedro 117
General estoria xiii, 87–98
 Genesis 19, 87, 89, 94–5
 Genovese 169
 George Syncellus 91
 Gerbert of Aurillac 110
 Germany, Germanic, German 48, 50, 53,
 110, 111, 112 n4, 128 n14, 169
 Gerona 115
 Gilberto 103, 104
 glosses xv
 Gómez Manrique, Diego 6, 17–18
 González, Fernán *see* Fernán González
 Gordonio, Bernardo de *see* Bernardo de
 Gordonio
 Gospels 19, 37 n21, 60, 132
 Goth, Gothic 50, 53 *see also* Visigoth
 Granada 35, 52, 60, 66
 Grand Narrative xi, 47, 48, 49, 53–4
 grapheme, graphemic 157, 161
 graphocentricity 160–1, 164
 Gratian 60
 Greek 91, 96, 97
 Gregory, St 19, 50, 60
 Grosseteste, Robert 110
 Guadalupe 31, 35, 37 n22
 Guesclin, Bertrand du *see* Clequín, Beltrán de
 Gunsalvus Petri *see* Petri, Gunsalvus
 Gutiérrez de Hinestrosa, Ruy 30 n1, 37, 41
 Guzmán, Leonor de 30 n3
- Halevi, Rabbi Solomon *see* Santa María,
 Pablo de
 Harclay, Henry 116
 Harpocraton of Alexandria 96, 97
 Hastings, battle of 51
 Hebrew 155
 Hebrews (Book of) 19
 heraldry x
 heresy 41
 Hermes, Hermetic, Hermeticism xiii, 87–98
 Herveus Natalis *see* Natalis, Herveus
 heterodoxy 11
 heterology 58
 hiatus 180–1, 182 n12
 Hippocrates 104

- Hisham I 54
 Hittite 154
 Holcot, Robert 116
 Holy Land 54
 horsemanship 58–9, 63, 66
 Hrotswitha of Gandersheim 73
 Hugh of St Victor 110
 Hugolino of Orvieto 116 n13
 hypercorrection 177
- Idris 89
 indigenist theory 51
infamia, infamado 32–3
 Inquisition 3, 5
 intermarriage 50
 Ireland 110
 Isabel I, la Católica 5–6, 7, 13, 35, 60, 65
 see also Catholic Monarchs
 Isidore, St 36 n18, 48, 49, 50, 54, 55, 132
 Islam, Islamic xi–xii, 35, 51, 54, 55, 65, 73, 76, 78, 79, 91, 165 *see also* Arab, Moor, Muslim, Saracen
 Italy, Italian 49, 71, 72–3, 82, 110, 112, 116, 139, 153, 155, 158, 159, 161, 183
- Jacme d'Agramont 100
 Jacob 19
 Jaén 171
 James of Eltville 116 n13
 Jared 87, 89, 90
 Jaume II of Aragón 111 n3, 113
 Jeremiah 19
 Jerome, St 19
 Jew, Jewish 4, 5, 7, 12, 34, 41, 92 *see also* Judaism
 Jihad 54
 Jiménez, Velasco 113
 Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo 172–3
 Job 22, 24
 Johannis, Fernandus 114
 John, St 19, 132
 John of Mirecourt 116
 John of Rodington 116
 John of Salisbury 110
 John Scotus Eriugena 110
 Josephus 88
 Juan II 9, 64
 Juan de Avión 100, 103 n10
 Juan de Burgos 137
 Juana Inés de la Cruz 16, 28
 Judaism 3, 9 *see also* Jew
 Judith 24
 Jupiter 89, 90
- Kilvington, Roger 116
 knight, knighthood xii, 35–7, 57, 58, 60–2, 63–4, 65, 71, 72, 74, 75 n10, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83
 Koran, Koranic 89, 91
Kyranides 93–6, 97–8
- Labov, William 162
 language, official xvi–xvii, 166
 language acquisition 157
 language change 153, 157–8, 162
 language planning 167, 173
 language shift 158
 language variation xvi–xvii, 158
 Languedoc 117
 Latin xv–xvi, xvii, 91, 93, 95, 96–8, 111 n2, 121, 122, 125, 127, 129, 131, 132, 153, 155–6, 157, 158, 159, 162, 165–73, 176
 law, legislation 36 n17, 36 n18, 48, 49, 50, 59–60, 61, 100, 107, 111, 112, 117, 172–3 *see also* *fueros*
 lenition 176–7, 179
 León, Leonese xv, xvi, xvii, 54, 114, 123, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173
 Lérida 111, 113, 115
 leveling 179–80, 182, 183
 lexis, lexicon, lexical 159, 163, 169
Liber iudiciorum *see* *Fuero Juzgo*
limpieza de sangre 10 *see also* *pureza de sangre*
 Lisbon 111, 115
 Loja 60
 Lombardy 111
 López de Ayala, Pedro 33 n9
 López de Córdoba, Álvaro 30 n2
 López de Córdoba, Leonor x, xi, 16, 30–42
 López de Córdoba, Martín 30, 32–3, 40, 41
 López de Villalobos, Francisco 105
 Low Countries 111 n2
 Lucas de Iranzo, Miguel 6
 Luis de León 17
 Luke, St 5, 19
 Luna, Juan de 113
- Madrid 116
 Major, John 117
 Málaga 35, 62, 64, 65
 Martinus Hispanus 112
 Mata d'Armagnac 102
 Matthew, St 19, 60, 132
 Mayronis, Francis 116
 medicine xiii, 92, 93, 94, 96, 99–108, 111, 112, 114, 117

- Mediterranean 82
 Mena, Juan de 6, 178
 Mendicants xiv, 112 n4, 114, 115, 117
 Mendoza, Juana de 17–18, 20, 25 n15
 Meneses, Pedro de 117
 Mercury 87, 90–1
 Merovingian 48, 51
mester de clerecía xiv, 128, 132
 metaphor 154–5, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163–4
 Mexía, Fernando 36
 Mexía, Pedro 100–1
 minorities ix, x
 miracle 31, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 70, 72, 76, 80, 94, 122, 127–8, 129
 monolingualism xv
 Montalvo *see* Rodríguez de Montalvo
 Montoro, Antón de x, 5–7, 9, 12, 13, 178
 Moor, Moorish xi, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 63, 76, 78 n16 *see also* Arab, Islam, Muslim, Saracen
morisco xii, 82
 morpheme, morphology xvii, 154, 159, 162, 163, 175, 177, 179–80, 181–3
 Mozarabic xvi *see also* *Romandalusí*
 Munich 116
 Murcia 115, 171
 Muslim xii, 33, 34, 41, 47, 53, 59, 62, 64, 72, 73, 76, 77, 89, 91–2 *see also* Arab, Islam, Moor, Saracen
 mysticism 17

 Natalis, Herveus 116
 nationalism 48, 50
 Navarre 111, 114, 115, 117
 Neo-Gothicism xi, 47, 53
 New Testament 5, 19 *see also* Bible
 Nimrod 88–9, 90, 94–5
 Noah 91
 Norman 51

 Occitan xv
 Odonis, Gerald 116
 Old Testament 19 *see also* Bible
Ordenamiento de Burgos 36 n17
 orders *see* Alcántara, Augustinians, Band of Castile, Benedictines, Calatrava, Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Mendicants, Santiago
 orthography, orthographic 157
 Ossores, Fernando 32 n6
 Ovid 88, 95
 Oxford xiv, 112, 114, 116–17
 Oyta *see* Totting of Oyta, Henry

 Páez de Ribera, Ruy 138–9
 Palencia 111, 114, 128
 Palencia, Alfonso de 57–9, 63, 66
 Palude, Peter 116
 Pamplona 114, 115
 Pantaleon, monastery of 72 n4
 parable 23, 24
 paradigm, paradigmatic 175–83
 Paris xiv, 110, 111–13, 114–15, 116, 117–18, 161
 university of 110–11, 112–13, 117
 Paul, St 19
 Paul the Deacon 110
 Pedro I, el Cruel xi, 30, 32, 41–2
 Pedro, son of Pedro I 32 n6
 Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán 61, 64, 65
 Persia 96
 Peter of Aquila 116
 Peter of Pisa 110
 Peter of Spain *see* Petrus Hispanus
 Peter, St 35 n14
 Petrus Comestor 88
 Petrus Hispanus 110
 Petri, Gunsalvus 113
 pharmacy, pharmaceuticals xiii, 99–108
 Philippe IV 111
 phoneme, phonemic, phonology 157, 161, 162, 163, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183
 Pinar, Florencia 16
 plague 37, 38, 39, 42 n33, 100, 102
 Poland 112
 polyphony x, 16
 Portugal, Portuguese xv, 37 n22, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117–18, 153, 155, 159, 182 n12
 post-colonial theory 3–4, 13–14
 Pre-Romanesque 53
 prescriptive, prescriptivism 160, 164
 Proaza, Alonso de 138 n6
 propaganda xi–xii, 57–66, 123, 129
 Provence 34 n12
 Psalms 18, 21, 25, 27
 Pulgar, Fernando del 60, 63, 65–6
pureza de sangre 3, 13 *see also* *limpieza de sangre*
 Pyrenees xiv
 Pythagoras 92

 Quijada de Reayo, Juan 62

 Ramiro of León 123
 Raphael 19
 Raudericus de Hispania 112

- Recesvinto 49
 Reconquest xi, xii, xvii, 54–5, 57, 59, 62, 63, 66, 165, 171
 register, linguistic xvii
 Reims 110
 Reinold, St 72 n4
 Renaissance xiv, xvi, 8, 63, 66, 92, 162
 12th-century 110
 Carolingian 110, 157
 Rioja, La; Riojan 128 n15
 Robert of Halifax 116
 Rodríguez de Aza, Fernán 35, 36–7, 40
 Rodríguez de Aza, Lope 35, 36–7, 40
 Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci 138–46
 Rodríguez de Tudela, Alonso 107
 Rojas, Fernando de 99, 104, 106–8, 137
 Romance xv–xvii, 120, 121, 122 n5, 127, 153, 154–5, 156, 157, 158, 159–60, 162, 166, 167, 168–9, 170, 172–3
 romance xii, 70–83, 136–46
Romandalusí xvi *see also* Mozarabic
 Rome, Roman, Romanization 35 n14, 48, 49, 50, 52, 81, 157, 158, 159–60
 Roncesvaux, battle of 63
 rosary xi, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42
 Brotherhood of the 38 n23
 Roseth, Roger 116
 Ruiz, Juan 6, 34 n11, 107
 Ruiz de Avendaño, Martín 64

 Sacraments 7
 Saladino de Ascoli 107
 Salamanca 22, 111, 114, 115, 116
Salve Regina 19
 San Francisco, Seville 37 n22, 40
 San Hipólito, Córdoba 37, 39, 40
 San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo 35
 San Lorenzo 121
 San Millán 121, 122, 123, 127–8
 San Nicolás de la Villa 37
 San Pablo, Córdoba 30 n2, 30 n3, 31, 39, 40, 41 n30
 San Pedro 123
 San Pedro, Diego de 137, 138
 San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome 35 n14
 Sancho, son of Pedro I 32 n6
 Santa María, Pablo de 7
 Santiago (order of) 32 n6
 Santiago de Compostela 35, 114, 115, 123, 128
 Santillana, Marqués de 6, 176, 178
 Saracen 71, 73, 74–7, 78, 79 n17, 80, 81 *see also* Arab, Islam, Moor, Muslim
 Scandinavia 111 n2
 Schism, Papal or Great 111 n3, 112
 scholasticism, scholastic xiii–xiv, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118
 Scotland 111 *see also* Britain
 Segovia 114, 115
 semantics 178
 Seneca 60
 Setenil 65
 Sevilla, Estephano de *see* Estephano de Sevilla
 Seville 30 n2, 30 n4, 32, 33, 37 n22, 42 n33, 113, 114, 115, 116, 132, 137, 138, 169, 171, 176
 Shakespeare 162–3
Siete partidas 60–2, 92
 Silos 122, 127, 169
 slavery 51
 sociolect 158
 sociolinguistics xvii, 158
 Sorbonne, College of the 114, 117
 Soriano, Jerónimo 102, 103 n10
 students xiii–xiv, 110–18, 153–55, 158, 159–61, 163, 164
 Stúñiga, Pedro de 7
 Sweden 111
 Syncellus, George *see* George Syncellus
 syntax, syntactic 159, 162, 163, 178

 Tagus, River 170
 Tarazona 117
 Tarragona 113
 Tat 87, 90, 91
 Teresa de Ávila, St 16, 28
 Teresa de Cartagena *see* Cartagena, Teresa de
 theme vowel 175, 181, 183
 Theodulf of Orléans 110
 Titans 88, 89, 95
 Tobias 19
 Toledo 7, 35, 98, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 166, 167, 170, 172–3
 Torre, Alfonso de la 7
 Tortosa 114
 Totting of Oyta, Henry 117
 Toulouse 111, 115
 Trebizond 72, 79
 Trismegistus, Hermes 87–98
 Troy, Trojan 74, 125 n10, 131 n20
 Tubalcain 89, 90
 Turks 82
 tyranny, tyrant 41–2

 Úbeda 172
 Uppsala 111

- Valencia 115
Valera, Diego de x, 5, 9–12, 13
Valera, María de 9–10
Valladolid 111, 114
Vargas, Alfonso 114, 116
Vegetius 36, 60
verb forms 175–83
vernacular 112 n6, 153, 159, 162,
165–73
Vilanova, Arnau de 101 n6
Vilches, Juan de 137
Visigoth, Visigothic xi, 47–54 *see also*
Goth
- vocative 125
voicing 176
Vulcan 89
Vulgate 88
- William of Ockham 116–17
Wodeham, Adam 116–17
- Ximénez de Cisneros, Francisco 37
- Zamudio de Alfaro, Andrés 103
Zaragoza 73, 114, 115, 138
zodiac xiii, 90, 97

